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The "American Imago" lost its editor before the publication of its first issue. We cannot look out for another one to replace him. Men of his stamp appear only at long intervals in the history of mankind. Nor will we imitate those knights who won a victory after their hero's death with the help of the Cid's empty armor riding in their front.

When the plan for this periodical was proposed to Freud he greeted it wholeheartedly and consented to become its editor. "I wish I could do more for it" he wrote in the same letter, July 7, 1938 in which he presented it with its name, "American Imago." Eight months later came his last letter in which he spoke with calmness of his approaching end. "The 'Moses' is not an unworthy leavetaking."

Our aim can be no other than to keep the flame alive which he lighted and to try, as best we can, to continue in his spirit the science which he has founded and developed.

The Managing Editor.

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THE DOZENS: DIALECTIC OF INSULT •

by

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It is a common observation of anthropologists that the field worker will recognize intuitively a series of character types among his informants, types which correspond closely to the people who surround the worker at home. It is not so common, but perhaps equally important, to notice that there are forms of behavior among other peoples which have been worked up, traditionally patterned and consolidated for which the emotional background is also present in our own society. It is as though one recognized at home the raw material which has been elaborated into public and well recognized norms of behavior abroad. For example, in our society, a friendship may exist as a spontaneous optional relationship between two men. Among the Dahomey,¹ on the contrary, such a relationship will appear as a feature of the "best friend" pattern, and it will be defined that every man has routinely a best friend who performs certain well recognized services for him and receives a return in kind. What is a sporadic invention in the one case, appearing and dying with its instigators, is a patterned affair in the other. Psychotics in American hospitals display disorders of perception which are individual variants from our social practices; whereas in Tanino society as Murdock² has found, medicine men must (unconsciously) falsify their experience in a somewhat similar way in order to qualify for their craft. So, also, the "joking relationship," familiar to students of primitives, sometimes exists between Americans as a personal invention in human relations.

I have seen a joking relationship arise between two friends in exactly this spontaneous way; indeed these two men are noted for

* The material used in this paper has been gathered in considerable part in the course of a study of Negro children carried on under the aegis of the American Youth Commission. Thanks for the opportunity to do this work but no blame for the nature of the material may be accorded to the Commission.

¹ Herskovits, M.J. "The Best Friend in Dahomey." *Negro*, an anthology edited by Nancy Cunard, Wishart & Company, London, 1934, pp. 627-632.

² Murdock, G.P. Unpublished Field Notes on the Tanino of Central Oregon.

this behavior and provide much amusement to others in their particular circle. The jests fly—about infidelity, though each seems a faithful husband—about impotence, though both are apparently adequately married and have children—about homosexual tendencies, although neither exhibits such to public perception. It is, in fact, just matters presumed to be farthest from fact which have the greatest currency in these jests. It is only by innuendoes and indirect references that the forbidden subjects may be touched on. A sally on the part of the one calls for a retort usually of a kind which would be most offensive if it were meant seriously. Both friends seem to have an unconscious perception and agreement on how far the joking may go. It does not touch upon actual weaknesses. It is done only when other persons are present. A playful attitude surrounds the whole affair, and it apparently gives great satisfaction to the participants. It is from such a behavioral ground that "the Dozens" springs.

The Dozens is a pattern of interactive insult which is used among some American Negroes. Apparently it exists in all three class groups within the Negro caste. It is guided by well recognized rules which at once permit and govern the emotional expression. It is evidently played by boys and girls and by adolescents and adults. Adolescents frequently make use of rhymes to express the forbidden notions. It is for some a game the only purpose of which seems to be the amusement of participants and onlookers, and as a game it may best be described as a form of aggressive play; in other circumstances the play aspect disappears and the Dozens leads directly to fighting. It is important to note that the Dozens is a collective game. It takes place before a group and usually involves two protagonists. Group response to the rhymes or sallies of the leaders is crucial; individuals do not play the Dozens alone. With group response comes the possibility of reward for effective slanders and feelings of shame and humiliation if one is bested.

Several ways of referring to the game are known. Adolescent informants talked about "playing" the Dozens. Others talked about "giving" a person in the Dozens and still others talked about "putting" a person in the Dozens. All of these expressions will be found used in the illustrative material.

The themes about which joking is allowed seem to be those most condemned by our social order in other contexts. Allegations are made that the person addressed by the speaker has committed incest, or that the speaker has taken liberties with the mother or sister of the one addressed; accusations of passive homosexuality are made, it is suggested that the cleanliness taboos have been broken, cowardice is alleged, and defects of the person of the one addressed, such as stupidity, crossed eyes, or inferiority, are played upon. There seems to be a taboo on mentioning dead relatives of either speaker. No references to menstruation or castration have been discovered.

Nothing is known to me about the history of the Dozens pattern. It does not appear to be noticed in a series of fourteen contemporary texts and studies which were assayed at random. The origin of the title, "the Dozens," is not known to me. What is known is that there is an obscene rhyme which is used in playing the Dozens which has twelve units in it. It goes in part as follows:

"I — your mammy one;
She said, 'You've just begun.'
.....
I — her seven;
She said, 'I believe I'm in Heaven.'
.....
I — her twelve;
She swore she was in Hell."

It may be that this pattern of twelve rhymes has given its name to the whole behavior form.

The Dozens pattern is known to exist in Mississippi and Louisiana. It was by chance that two Negro observers who had gone to school in a large northern city also reported it from there. It is known also among New Haven Negroes. No attempt at wide-spread sampling has been made and no thorough study of the pattern except in one area of the deep South. Although there are no thorough geographical data, it seems exceedingly likely that the Dozens is played very widely among American Negroes.

It is not at all certain that the Dozens pattern is limited to Negroes but it is only from them that I have data on it. Certainly many of the same insults are exchanged by whites in situations of provocation. Further study may well show that it is a lower class pattern which exists among whites also.

The evidence is confusing at many points; for example, on how frequently physical combat follows the game. Some informants believe it to be quite common and some quite rare. There is also much data presented for one city or area that is missing for others. This is due to systematic defects in the study, which was not organized in the first place to assemble information on the Dozens pattern.

The data will be classified under the rubrics Northern-Southern, large-city—small-city, adults-adolescents, boys-girls, and social class. In regard to the latter, two distinctions will be made: lower class, on the one hand, and middle and upper class, lumped together, on the other.³

At this point it is necessary to agree on one fact about the material; some condemned words and concepts must be used if the necessary scientific interpretation is to be made. Only the briefest references to these data will be made, just enough in fact to give the impact of the actual material.

Southern: Big City: Adolescent: Lower Class

One of the first impressions about the Dozens was the reluctance of two small boys with their lower-class gang to begin playing it. One asked the other, "Do you want to play the Dozens?"

The other boy said, "Yes."

The first boy said, "You start."

The second boy said, "No, you start." Finally one of them started. The boys behaved, in fact, like nations; each one of them reconciled to a war but neither willing to accept the responsibility of being the aggressor. It was apparent that some fear or anxiety was operative in both boys.

My best informants were ten lower-class Negro children in a big Southern city. In the course of prolonged interviewing with each of these children none of them spontaneously mentioned the Dozens to me. I had to find out about it finally by actually seeing

³An explicit statement on the subject of social class is to be expected from Professor W.L. Warner of the University of Chicago, Dr. Burleigh Gardner of the Sociological Research Division of the Western Electric Company of Chicago, and Professor Allison Davis of Dillard University in New Orleans. For the sake of this paper the term "class" will be used as an arbitrary way of dividing the data and no further defense of its utility will be made.

them play the game. Even then, I did not recognize at first that the behavior was patterned but thought of it only as an interpersonal quarrel. Once discovered and questioning begun, the boys reacted with furtive amusement in some cases, occasionally with embarrassment and sometimes with outright and deceitful denials. With Raymond, for example, his embarrassment was obvious when I first questioned him. Tom giggled at my question and refused to reply. Some children denied knowing the rhymes altogether at first but later, however, proved to be familiar with many of them. These showed marked shame and secrecy about the game, claimed they never played it and evinced indignation in the face of questioning. These reactions of concealment and shame convinced me that playing the Dozens is not an orgy of licentious expression for lower-class Negroes; all know that the themes treated are in general forbidden, some refuse to play the game and still others are very resentful and defensive at the mere thought of it.

The rhymed Dozens are played apparently predominantly by children; all of my informants on rhyming happened to be from twelve to sixteen years old. Perhaps rhyming in children tends to be done because they are still in the age when rhymes are read and quoted to them. Perhaps again the forbidden content can express itself behind the facade of the rhyme, a facade which grown-ups do not need. Younger children, moreover, are less emancipated from family controls and must find some covering while expressing anti-social accusations.

Sex themes are by far the most common and they frequently relate to the female relatives of the challenged person. Raymond came forward with the following rhymes, among many others:

"I saw your ma
At Tulane and Broad;
She was coming out
Of the red light yawd."
.....

"Your ma behind
Is like a rumble seat.
It hang from her back
Down to her feet."

The reference in the first rhyme is obvious. The second is also an intimate and derogatory reference to the mother.

The Dozens is also played among these adolescents without the use of rhymes and without direct erotic references. For instance, one day Willy was joking Jimmy to the following effect: that Jimmy should go and get a machine gun. He kept on iterating this while Jimmy attempted feebly to retort in kind. Willy was stressing the point that he could lick Jimmy fist to fist and that Jimmy would need a machine gun to defend himself. Willy kept "jiving" him until Jimmy finally left, saying that he was coming back but not meaning to and not doing it; he thus escaped from the fight which might have followed. Delbert reported that Herbert had been put in the Dozens by another boy in the following manner: the boy said, "Your mama needs a bath." This was a fighting matter to Herbert, and he had answered, "Go on home, nigger," and had chased the boy home. Apparently the other fellow was unwilling to back up his words with deeds.

Sometimes homosexuality was the subject of jest among these boys; for example, Joe was kidding Steve in my hearing along the following lines: he kept saying that Steve had always got the "next dish" from Mr. Ting out at the camp. Steve had kept answering, "That's good," meaning that that was his business. Steve attempted to retort but could not seem to find anything as good; finally he wanted to fight about it. Later, I queried what the "next dish" meant. They explained to me that when Steve was at the camp he would get a nice dish of corn flakes while the other boys got oatmeal with worms in it, and that this often happened at the camp, or at least the boys from there said so. I asked what Steve had to do to get the next dish. They explained to me that Steve would have to "give some of his behind" in order to get it. The boys said they did not know whether this was true; maybe it was just malicious gossip. Anyway, it made good subject matter for attacking Steve.

This introduced a very common aspect of the Dozens game. Although there are stereotyped rhymes and general challenges which can be made to anybody, it is good technique to attack the other fellow at his weak point, if that be found. In checking up on this, I asked Bill, "Suppose a fellow's daddy were in jail, what would you say then?"

He said, "The boys would kid you that your daddy was a thief or a jailbird."

I said, "Suppose a boy's sister had an illegitimate child?"

He said, "The boys would kid you something like this: 'Aw, your sister is an ole two-cent street-walker.'" He said they would find out and kid you if there was something wrong with your family, and if there were nothing wrong with it they would make something up. Bill also said that when the boys played the Dozens with Willy they accused him of being a "snot-eater." Apparently this behavior had been observed in Willy. Willy was also a constant target for affronts on the score of irregularities in his family set-up. It seemed that his father had deserted the mother when Willy was a child, had never been married to her, and that therefore Willy had never had a consolidated family situation. The boys constantly and savagely joked Willy about this matter, and it was said that he invariably fought; although a lower-class boy, Willy was both secretive and protective as to his mother's behavior. Probably he did not want to sink out of the lower class into the limbo of classlessness with the illegitimate. Members of the primary group have a keen eye for the weaknesses and defects of fellow participants and are invariably able to bring them forward in the case of any sadistic game.

Some boys refuse to play the Dozens and immediately issue a warning to this effect once it is proposed. Bill was one of these. He said that he had heard a lot of the rhymes and used to use them himself, but stated that he could not remember any of them now. He said he did not like to play this game and always told the boys to stop "giving him in." In explanation, he said the game almost always ended in a fight. It was through this game that he had got into so many fights with Willy. It was bound to lead to a fight, he felt, because it almost always ended up by the other fellow saying something about your mother, daddy or sister, and in this case there was nothing else one could do.

Sam also said that if there was something you objected to in the course of the rhymes you would have to fight, and that the game frequently ended in a fight. Raymond said that if one of the children ran out of rhymes first he would feel humiliated and begin to fight. Apparently, if one has no effective come-back he must resort to his fists. Fighting seems to be known in the in-group

in this neighborhood since Bill and Willy who fight so much were both old friends and belong to the same gang.

Southern: Big City: Adolescents: Middle Class

In middle class much the same features are observed in playing the Dozens that have been noticed for lower class, big city boys. It may be that through defects in information some differences appear which would be found not to exist in a more complete survey, or the contrary may be true for the same reason. There seems some slight tendency, on the existing evidence, for a greater suppression of vulgar expressions. An experienced observer writes:

"I saw a group of four boys between thirteen and eighteen, apparently lower middle class, keep the game going for fifty minutes. They jeered at everything from one's inferiority at checkers to another's withered leg and T.B. There was careful avoidance of any jeering at mothers, sisters or girl friends." Another observer notes that rhymes need not be used, and that reference to caste status, such as "your mammy is a nigger," has a particular sting among middle-class boys. This observer cites the following rhymes as an example of the non-obscene type:

"You weren't born fair,
I sure can swear.
You were born by an alligator
And suckled by a mare."

Though not obscene, the above could certainly be classified as an offensive personal reference, imputing animal characteristics to the one addressed. Another rhyme on the margin of the obscene follows:

"If you wanna play the Dozens,
Play them fast.
I'll tell you how many bull-dogs
Your mammy had.

She didn't have one;
She didn't have two;
She had nine damned dozens
And then she had you."

One can imagine how such a rhyme is pulled out with triumph in a heated altercation. The same reference to animal origins is

noted. This rhyme, however, definitely does cast a slur on the person's mother, contrary to the opinion that middle-class boys do not use such jests.

Another experienced observer distinguishes between the "dirty" Dozens and the ordinary Dozens. Apparently the latter would be jesting without particular reference to the person's family.

The informant about the dirty Dozens stressed that in them references are made to mother, sisters, father and brothers, and that the mother is most continuously involved. He says: "Slangs are passed about one's mother and rhymes are made up about her. Slangs such as these are passed: 'I am your paw'; 'I did it to your maw'; 'I slept with your maw last night,' etc. Of course, there are a lot of other slangs and rhymes used, but these are just a few so as to give you an idea. There is really no truth to the slangs used and no sense to the rhymes but it just sets one to burning up because of the heckling and the laughter of the onlookers fanning the flame."

This observer has noted the very considerable role of the crowd of onlookers in the Dozens game. It is the laughter, applause and the derision of the crowd which stirs the participants to ever renewed attempts to out-do the other in invective. The crowd is essential both to the rewards and punishments which attend the Dozens behavior. The way the Dozens occur in actual nature is also suggested by this informant through the following interchange:

"Joe: 'Nigger, if I was as ugly as you I would kill myself.'

"James: 'You ain't so hot yourself. Your hair looks like a wire fence.'

"Joe: 'Your paw's hair look like a wire fence, nigger.'

"James: 'You are my paw.'

"Joe: 'If I am your paw I must have done it to your maw.'

"Onlookers: 'Oh, oh! He told you about your maw. I would not take that if I was you. Go ahead and tell him something back.'" (The dialogue becomes increasingly offensive and insults are tossed back and forth on the themes of illegitimacy and incest.) "More laughter from the onlookers, and then: 'Why don't you two fight and get it over with? Hit him, Joe. If you don't hit him, James, you are a sissy.' They push the two boys and as a result a fight ensues."

The above gives the impression of a collective transaction whose object it is to create a sort of impromptu prize fight. It would seem that the crowd, anxious for a battle, eggs the participants on and finally ridicules them into having a fight. The boys themselves would seem to be willing to drop the matter on some occasions, if it were not for fear of public ridicule.

It may be that fighting is a less customary activity and is therefore more feared among middle-class boys, or it may be that the participants in the above case were exceptionally intimidated. The Dozens is not always played solely by two protagonists with a circle of onlookers. An example has been given of four boys who played it as a group, each against the other three. Another informant confirms this impression that it may be a group game as well as one used between two individuals.

Another informant remarks that the dirty Dozens usually follows after two boys begin to joke one another before a crowd. At first no obscene words or references are used. Later, however, the "weaker kidder" who "can't take it" will fight back by telling the other about his "mammy," and thus the dirty Dozens begins. It is at this point also that the onlookers play an important part, as where they jump in by saying, "Aw, he told you about your mother. I wouldn't stand for that. Don't be a sissy. Tell him something back. I just know this is a fight," etc. Again, the boys surrounding the two may burst into laughter and "make small" of the boy for whom the remark was intended, thus arousing his anger, and he begins to tell his opponent about his mother also. We are told that "the kidding continues like this, with the group around pushing fire, first siding with one and then the other so as to keep the kidding up."

I am sure that this behavior must be analogous to that which occurs in small boy gangs all over America, which is not heavily patterned but which springs up spontaneously through the needs and hostilities of the individual children themselves. It is assumed that most people, young and old alike, are willing to see a prize fight or a grudge fight, if they can only get someone else to do the fighting.

There is considerable disagreement about how often the Dozens game ends up in a fight. In some cases the audience is definitely

disappointed if there is no fight and the "weaker kidder" will be booed and laughed at as he leaves the crowd. Most informants seem to agree that when the Dozens is played with an out-group member it generally ends up in physical fighting. Even in the in-group if the joking becomes sufficiently exasperating and extreme it will often end in fisticuffs. The in-group, of course, has a difficult problem here. It must maintain its solidarity, which includes friendly relationships between the two Dozens participants. It must, therefore, exercise a certain control over in-group hostilities if it is to be capable of mass action against some other gang. The informants seem to be agreed that playing the dirty Dozens is most likely to lead to fights between in-group members. Even there, however, references to "your mother" may sometimes be made without leading to actual fighting. One observer stresses the importance of the etiquette of some Dozens playing groups which compels an individual to control his temper and not actually fight. The one who fights first tends to be viewed as the "weaker kidder" and the one who "can't take it." Fighting itself proves that you have run out of effective verbal retort and that you have been bested by your opponent. It may be that the taboo on fighting is a matter of preservation of the in-group, or it may, on the other hand, be a special feature of the character structure of middle-class boys to avoid open violence and limit their aggressions to the verbal mode.

Another informant stresses the entertainment value of the Dozens. He says, "In my group, the 'dozens' pattern was very well known—especially on trips to other towns or cities. It generally began when the 'life of the party' wanted to break the monotony of a long trip without entertainment and would start kidding (according to the 'dozens') some of his very intimate pals. He would be sure to joke with the 'right person' of the group, because there was always some person who cried, 'I don't play that!' Because the leader chose the other person with whom to play the 'dozens,' there were generally no fights." It would be interesting to know how the "right person" is chosen in this case. Presumably, it would be a fellow who "could take it" and who would not damage the mood of the group by open hostility. It is especially important to see in the case of this pattern not only how it permits some hostilities to be expressed but also how it carries with it a

sanction which tends to limit those aggressions which would damage the unity of the boys' group.

Two informants agree that girls put one another in the Dozens as well as boys, and that the game may be played between girls and girls, and girls and boys. In this case, the girls use the same "slangs and rhymes" that the boys use, and their games often end up in physical fighting too. The game begins with girls, as with boys, with the "clean" Dozens and then proceeds to the dirty Dozens, where one tells the other "about your mother or father."

In a study of forty-three adolescent children in the middle and upper-class groups, conducted in a large city, no reference to the Dozens pattern was made by the interviewers reporting on the children; this was true in spite of the fact that in some cases ten to twenty interviews had been obtained. There was no precise questioning on the score of the existence of the Dozens pattern; however, and the children may not have thought it important enough to report, especially since the interviewers did not ask about it. Delicacy of feeling on the part of either informant or interviewer may also have resulted in withholding information, especially about the dirty Dozens. In view of my own experience in interviewing on this pattern, it is believed that the lack of appearance of material on the Dozens testifies not to its absence but either to neglect or withholding of the relevant information.

Southern: Big City: Adult

The Dozens pattern is also played by adults. "Adult" is here given to mean anyone in age from seventeen or eighteen on up. One thing is clear, and that is that adults do not use the rhymes which are characteristic of adolescents. They depend rather on directly improvised insults and curses, and seem to be altogether more crude and direct in their expressions. I refer here only to lower-class adults. The jibes tend to include incidents of promiscuity of a man's mother or sister and literal references are made to homosexual practices.

I have no evidence on the occurrence of Dozens behavior among middle-class or upper-class Negro men in this city, although I have often observed the same friendly and unpatterned joking among them that I have in similar white groups.

Southern: Small City: Adolescent: All Classes

The Dozens in this town is characterized, as elsewhere, mainly by obscene rhymes and references. There seems to be no distinction between the clean and dirty Dozens.

The Dozens game very commonly ends in fighting, especially in the lower-class group. In the middle and upper class, on the other hand, it is said to be done largely for amusement and fighting is interdicted. A case of two boys in a typical patter is described as follows:

"First boy: 'Who is yo' gittin' slop fo'?

"Second: 'Fo' yo' mammy, you nigger!'

"First: 'I ain't said nothin' 'bout yo' black mammy and I'm goin' to beat yo' up 'cause I don't play that wid yo.' (The fight starts when the first boy leads.)"

In this city there is another name for the Dozens, "joaning." Frequent references to caste are made. The word "nigger" is used, as is the word "black." Among middle-class boys such references would lead to fights, but this is not necessarily the case with the lower class. Such an interchange as the following may not provoke a fight if it takes place between boys both of whom belong to a friendly group:

"First boy: 'Nigger, you can't see nothin'.'

"Second: 'You know who kin.'

"First: 'Who?'

"Second: 'Yo' big black mammy.' "

If, however, the boys belong to hostile groups, for instance, ones from different parts of the town, a fight is almost certain to occur.

"Joaning" is reported by children from middle and upper-class families. Here are rhymes which come from three of the most prominent members of the high school class:

"Keep on joanin'
You'll make me mad.
I'll tell you the trouble
Your grandmaw had.

(17 1-2)

She had ninety-nine puppies
And a dog named Belle.
If you don't like that
You may go to Hell."

The rhyming, it may be admitted, is slightly better than that of lower-class children, but it contains the same obscene references to family members and the same forcing of incestuous or adulterous phantasies on the person addressed.

Girls in this town are said to play the Dozens as well as boys. The informant says that "fourteen and fifteen year old middle-class girls take an active part in the Dozens as they take part with the boys at the meetings of their various class clubs."

No information is available on the playing of this game by adults in this town, although undoubtedly it is done by lower-class men. The role of the group of onlookers is also not stressed but there seems no reason to believe that it is not a feature of the play.

Southern: Small Town and Rural Data

In my own work in "Southerntown" I did not get direct information on the Dozens probably because of my lack of direct participation with lower-class people. I did, however, hear about it but did not recognize it at that time as a patterned activity. I thought of it as just ordinary "joking." In the nine histories of middle-class adults which I gathered no reference was made to the Dozens, although I have little doubt that my informants knew about it. It seems very unlikely that they played it, however, if one may judge from their character structures in other respects.

Cohn⁴ writing of Negro behavior in the Mississippi Delta speaks of the game as a "prolific source of shootings and stabbings." He describes it further as "a form of Rabelaisian banter engaged in by two or more Negroes . . . Aspersion after aspersion is cast by each on the mammy of the other. Finally a pistol explodes or a knife flashes." Cohn is undoubtedly reporting on lower-class behavior although he does not specify to this effect.

Bradford⁵ also puts a reference to the Dozens in the mouth of his "John Henry," who is a rural Louisiana Negro. He writes: ". . . Maybe de happy dust cross me up, and de preacher put me in de dozens . . ." This reference is somewhat obscure, but it seems to have to do with the occasion when the preacher was pleading with John Henry to repent of his sins. It is, nevertheless,

⁴ Cohn, D.L., *God Shakes Creation*. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1935, p. 161.

⁵ Bradford, Roark, *John Henry*. The Literary Guild, New York, 1931, p. 213.

one of the rare references to the pattern and seems to imply that it is common knowledge in rural Louisiana.

Northern: Big City: All Classes

There happens to be some casual and isolated information on the playing of the Dozens in a large city on the borderline between North and South. A particular middle-class observer, thinking back to his adolescence, states that obscene rhymes and references were not the chief foci of the Dozens in his group. The reason seems simple; references to female relatives brought about either an immediate fight or a rather permanent break in friendly relationships. This was not true of lower-class boys in the same school. In the middle and upper classes, the constant themes utilized were those which played around various types of inferiority, cowardice or stupidity. This observer feels that jibes about sex matters were more freely allowed in lower class. But, at the same time, there were stricter taboos in the lower-class group about allowing the Dozens to lead to fights. He feels that the middle and upper-class children, with a higher sense of "personal honor" were much quicker to become insulted and resort to fisticuffs over the Dozens. This "higher sense of personal honor" may mean that there is a severer repression of the forbidden tendencies among middle-class children and that when one is accused of wanting to do something which he has severely repressed he becomes anxious and will fight to give an emphatic denial to the accusation. Lower-class children with possibly less severe repressions would not become so anxious and therefore not be so likely to fight. This tentative analysis does not take account of individual differences which there certainly must be.

There is another scrap of evidence with regard to a northern city. An upper-class Negro woman said the pattern existed in her high school group in the following form: a simple reference to "your ma" or "your mother" was a fighting challenge. The woman herself did not know why one had to fight when she heard this but did know that fight one must. Perhaps the repressive influence of class and school had elided from expression the rest of the Dozens pattern, and we have in the condensed expression a sort of stump of the full behavior structure.

Northern: Small City: All Classes

The Dozens is known in another and smaller northern city. It is played both by boys and girls and by adolescents and adults. In this city the Dozens is always "dirty." Both fixed rhymes and impromptu retorts are used; content and form are about the same as the examples already reported. Among adolescents at least a rhymed retort is considered to have a superior demoralizing effect on one's opponent. The informant stated that at hearing a telling rhyme she will sometimes say with admiration, "Let me put my foot down (pat my foot) and listen to that one." It seems to be a game played primarily by lower-class people although younger people of middle-class status also participate; it seems unlikely that middle or upper-class adults use it. In this city the Dozens is viewed as a dangerous game. One does not initiate it unless he is expecting it to end in a fight and fighting is said to be the usual outcome—in this case not only fist-fighting but often also knife- and gun-play. The clean or non-dirty Dozens is not recognized as the same game but is played under another name; it is called "working plays" on another person. One refers to it in this way: "I worked a play" on so-and-so, or "I ranked" so-and-so, meaning "set him back on his heels." The one who is about to initiate the Dozens is said often to clap his hands and tap his foot as a sign that he is about to begin the joking. At this sign others may warn him off continuing or gather around to see the fun or fight. The watching crowd plays a crucial role here as in the South.

Analogous Practices in Other Societies

No attempt at a complete ethnographical survey of joking behavior will be made at this point. I desire only to show by one or two references that similar behavior forms have been known and transmitted in remote parts of the earth. No relationship is presumed between the American Negro Dozens and any other similar form.

Mead⁶ has described the "joking relationship" among her Manus informants. The "joking relationship" is a special relationship between specified kinsmen in which matters may be jested about

⁶ Mead, Margaret, "Kinship in the Admiralty Islands," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. XXXIV, Part II, 1934, p. 252.

which would be unthinkable outside of the terms of the relationship itself. She refers to the main features of the pattern in the following form: it is public; through it the participants simulate hostility and anger; and their behavior consists mainly of obscene taunts and jests. Mead notes⁷ that on no account may the twitted person actually become hostile, except, of course, by way of jesting retort in kind. Among the Tikopia, Firth⁸ found a joking relationship to exist between terminological brothers. Such brothers may be technical kinsmen despite such great differences in rank as that between chief and commoner. The jeers fly back and forth very much as already described here, and the laughter of the watching crowd is an essential feature. Obscene references are the characteristic material of these jokes. A pattern somewhat similar to the Dozens is found in the song contests of the Aleutians as described by Weyer⁹ who, in turn, refers to Weniaminow; here two opponents sing derisive songs before a group, each one capping the insults offered by the other. Occasionally such competitions end in blows and even death. Thomas¹⁰ (paraphrasing Thalbitzer) notes the use of similar song competitions, called "drum fights," among the Greenland Eskimo. He observes that the utility of the pattern seems to lie in the public ridicule of an opponent with whom an actual private quarrel exists.

Summary

The Dozens is a pattern of interactive insult widely distributed among American Negroes. Adolescents tend to carry on the game by means of rhymes whereas adults speak without rhymes and often improvise. The clean Dozens are distinguished from the dirty Dozens everywhere, though not always by name. In the latter, accusations of incestuous or adulterous behavior are made on the part of the accused or his near relatives; in the former, jeers concerning the inferiority, stupidity or cowardice of the one addressed, or his relatives, are the stock in trade. The collective

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

⁸ Firth, Raymond, *We, The Tikopia*. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1936.

⁹ Weyer, E.M., *The Eskimos*. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1932, pp. 226-227.

¹⁰ Thomas, W.I., *Primitive Behavior*. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York & London, 1937.

aspect of Dozens play is very important since the watching crowd serves as a sounding board for all insults, magnifying them and compelling adequate rejoinder. Fights are most likely to terminate the play when the chief protagonists are members of exclusive out-groups. They often occur when the players in a middle-class group resort to the obscene slanders of the dirty Dozens. When the two players are members of an in-group in any class there is a tendency to put a premium on not fighting; not "letting the other fellow get your goat" is the form which this sanction takes. Both boys and girls play the Dozens.

Interpretation

Every culture item should be examined from the standpoint of its function in the contemporary social order. "Function" is here taken to mean the expressive value of the pattern from the impulse standpoint. The basic assumption is that such a culture item as the Dozens exists because it is in a general way adaptive. Such adaptive utility should be revealed by close study even in the case of relatively trivial patterns.

From the historical point of view, the Dozens pattern is seen as a collective creation, fashioned in the adjustive struggle of the Negro caste. It is impossible to say at the present moment whether the pattern itself has been borrowed from Western European culture and refashioned by Negroes in the last one hundred and fifty years or whether it has been borrowed or adapted from the native African heritage of our colored people. It is always possible, too, that the game has been independently invented by American Negroes.

Whatever be the truth here, the fact would remain that this borrowing, adaptation or invention could only occur in case the pattern formed a balancing element within the current structure of Negro life. In the latter case, we have a behavior element which is integrated with other fundamental aspects of Negro society of the present day. It is the contention here that the Dozens behavior is expressive of impulses generated and fashioned in living individuals by other portions of their life experience.

It may then be asked, since the Dozens deals in a general way with aggressive behavior, what are the circumstances of life for Negroes which would facilitate the existence of aggressive patterns?

In answering this question we will note at the outset that the Dozens is an in-caste pattern. It does not countenance jeering openly at white people, but it confines aggressive expression within Negro society. The reason for this limitation seems obvious, i.e., the punishing circumstances which come into play when Negroes display direct hostility for whites.

In general, we would expect aggression to be overtly expressed when two circumstances are present: i.e., when frustration levels are high, and when social pressure against aggressive behavior is weak.¹¹ That frustration levels are high among Negroes, especially lower-class Negroes, would seem to emerge from the following considerations. Negroes are included in the most depressed economic group in the country, that is, lower-class people, white and colored, in the southern United States.¹² The strivings toward social self-aggrandizement of middle-class Negroes are markedly limited by caste barriers; the under-representation in positions of business leadership and some of the professions is a case in point. Negroes are not permitted, in the southern states, to make their protests effective through political means. They are excluded from full participation in our society in a polite social sense. They are ringed around with a threatening series of rebuffs, scorn and humiliation when they attempt to change their status. "Not Wanted Here" is a sign that the Negro sees when he claims full membership in our system. Since Negroes know what rights they should have from the standpoint of our democratic customs, these limitations constitute frustrations of a severe order. These frustrations regularly raise their aggressive responses in turn. We will arbitrarily leave out of consideration for the moment the substitute satisfactions available to Negroes which diminish frustration levels somewhat. One would expect, therefore, in Negroes a readiness to aggression which would constitute from the societal standpoint a constant market for patterns permissive of aggressive expression. It is suggested that the Dozens is one of these.

¹¹ Dollard, J., Doob, L.W., Miller, N., Mowrer, O.H., and Sears, R.R., *Frustration and Aggression*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1939, Chap. VI, pp. 110-141.

¹² National Emergency Council, *Report on Economic Conditions of the South*. Washington, 1938, pp. 21-23.

To take up the second consideration, we may expect overt aggression from people when social pressures against such expression are weak. It is regularly presumed that aggressive responses will be expressed if it is not too dangerous to do so. I have suggested in another place¹³ that Negroes are to a considerable degree "outside the law." Aggressive behavior on the part of Negroes is condoned, punished less severely than similar behavior in whites and is, on the whole, rather expected of them; this is true, of course, only when such expressions are confined to members of the Negro caste. Negro society constitutes a frontier area of relative lawlessness within white society, where the social punishment for aggressive expressions is diminished much below our standard practice. Such a circumstance makes it immediately plausible why a pattern such as the Dozens can appear.

This makes clear the general point of view advanced here on the Dozens game; it is a valve for aggression in a depressed group. Some psychological comments in explanation of the game itself are in order. It is undoubtedly set in motion by aggressive tendencies which have been mobilized in other situations and are ready for expression. It has been noted that the point of the game seems to be to bring up matters painful to the other person. The physical self of the addressed person is derogated; he is sometimes accused of incestuous behavior; adulterous acts are alleged on the part of persons "sacred" to him, i.e., those toward whom the accused does not himself have conscious sexual wishes. It seems to be generally agreed that it is just such accusations as the latter which provoke an intense anger in the accused person and differentiate the ordinary Dozens from the dirty Dozens. It is evidently this element of exposure of the other person's unconscious wishes which is crucial. When the taunting speaker hits his unconscious mark he describes a repressed wish struggling for expression in his hearer.¹⁴ This ripping of the repressive veil in the person addressed immediately raises his level of anxiety. Anxiety is itself a punishing state of affairs, and the inevitable response is aggression toward the first speaker by the accused

¹³ Dollard, John, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1937, pp. 279-280.

¹⁴ The fundamental conceptions of Freud have made this analysis possible. Many of them are used here, such as "wish," "repression," "anxiety."

and taunts in kind. If the game goes on, anxiety in each participant or perhaps especially in one becomes so great that verbal attacks will no longer hold the aggression mobilized and only blows will suffice. It is in this way that the all-important interactive element of the game can be explained. If fighting is wanted by the group but does not occur, it is probable that the one addressed is more afraid of the speaker than he is of his own anxiety.

The foregoing makes clear only how direct aggression is elicited in the Dozens game. No doubt in addition to the direct frustrations administered while the game is being played, much aggressive response is irrationally overtoned by the general readiness to aggression of the participants. It is at this point that the high frustration level among Negroes resulting from their general circumstances of life comes to bear.

We are now in a position to discuss why it seems to be the case that middle-class boys will fight quicker than lower-class boys when the dirty Dozens is played. The middle-class boys are in general *mobile* boys and because of this feature of their social position they are required to make exceptional impulse sacrifices in order to develop the skills incident to social advancement. Impulse renunciation in this case is regularly brought about in the course of the life history of each one of them by repression of counter-mores tendencies. With these stronger repressive forces operating the middle-class people will develop more anxiety when presented with the verbal equivalent of their repressed wishes and hence react more strongly with aggression. The expectation would be, what some informants allege is the fact, that they will fight more readily. This consideration might explain also why Negroes in the North react to the game with fighting more regularly than do southern Negroes; northern Negroes are in general more mobile and stronger repressive forces are in operation.

Following along these same lines it becomes clear why boys will fight with out-gang members more readily than with fellow members of their own small group. Barriers against aggression are low where outsiders are concerned and high where in-group members are concerned. In-group members are threatened with loss of status if they are "not able to take it." "Ability to take it" would be defined from this standpoint as an ability to stand the anxiety raised by the presentation of the forbidden phantasy.

In-groupers must learn to tolerate this anxiety since aggression is penalized within the primary group by fear of loss of group esteem and cooperation. This fear is often great enough to get the accused person to bear his anxiety and not fight.

It is indeed one of the fears of the writer of this paper that by the presentation of so much forbidden material he will do to the reader what the Dozens players do to one another, and with the same results. It can only be hoped that the psychological analysis is sufficiently discerning to minimize punitive action.

Another obvious psychological element of the Dozens is the enjoyment of forbidden themes by the speaker and the crowd; this enjoyment is the negative of the discomfiture of the one addressed. It must be remembered that phantasy and verbal expression of forbidden acts are in themselves gratifying since they stand next door to overt muscular execution of these acts. Nor is it to be presumed that "cultural patterning" is the sole explanation of the form the insults take. One must follow Freud exactly at this point and suppose that the accusations made by the speaker represent in most cases repressed wishes of his own; the accusations follow too closely the familiar catalogue of the repressed tendencies—i.e., incest, homosexuality, peeping, phallic display, and the like—for any other presumption to be justified.

Equally clear is the fact that the aggression involved in exposing the other person is enjoyed by each respondent. Long stifled tendencies to damage others can be ventilated by this means. There is an aggrandizement of self involved in besting or humiliating the other person and a concurrent denial of weakness in the own self. In addition, one may guess that in verbalizing the forbidden notions the speaker experiences a triumph over repressive forces in himself, a triumph sweet to the child-animal in all of us.

It is never amiss to rebut again the fallacy that Negroes are fundamentally different from whites. This rebuttal is easy in considering the foregoing evidence. Since Negroes repress the same tendencies as do whites it is obvious that they are governed by the same moral imperatives as whites are. Since they manifest anxiety at the prospect of emergence of the same forbidden tendencies they are "human" in sharing the same culture controls. They have obviously the same taboos on incestuous behavior, homo-

sexuality, adulterous activities and possession of extreme negroid characteristics which whites have. Their family loyalties show the marks of being fashioned by the same repressive forces. The conclusion could not be otherwise since they are fellow participants in our Western European culture heritage.

In conclusion we may indicate the interactive mounting of aggression as an important theme for social research. The problem of summation of aggressive response has already been discussed by Bateson¹⁵ in reference to the splitting of small groups in a primitive society. It has long been known by diplomats that it is dangerous to humiliate an important nation twice on the same score. The building up of aggressive responses, started sometimes from trivial causes, must be carefully studied since to know the mechanisms involved may offer means of control. What we want to know is how aggressive expression may get out of social control and become disruptive of social life. Patterns of aggressive expression, like the Dozens, are undoubtedly valuable, but if unchecked interaction teases out of individuals or nations the ultimate in repressed aggression that pattern is a dangerous one to human society.

¹⁵ Bateson, Gregory, *Naven*. The University Press. Cambridge, England, 1936, pp. 183-186.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF MASOCHISM •

by

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Are there any characteristic elements possessed in common and invariably found in the different forms of masochism? The sexual and psychological literature surely offers sufficient observational material—often one might believe too much—but even today the assertion may be ventured that the phenomenology of masochism has not yet been adequately investigated. That is to say there is still lacking a description of the peculiar features of masochism in its usual forms.

It will be worth while to cite some illustrative material. In the selecting of examples the primary consideration will be that there can be no doubt of their masochistic character. The differences as to sex will be as little considered as the question of whether it concerns a masochistic phantasy or an actual scene of perversion. The three following examples may from this standpoint claim to be representative of the essentials.

A young girl had the following phantasy which showed in the course of many years but trivial variations: it is late evening, she goes through the streets to the butcher-shop which has already closed its shutters. She knocks, when the butcher opens the shutters she says: "Please, I would like to be butchered." He grants her request and lets her in. She undresses at the back of the store and lies down naked on the meatblock. She has to lie there a long time waiting. The butcher is busy cutting up some calves. Once in a while one of his fellow workmen comes by and grasps her body and tests the flesh like an expert testing an animal to be slaughtered. Finally the butcher himself comes and he also tests with his fingers various portions of her body, hauling her about for this purpose as if she were a dead calf. He grabs the butcher knife but before he makes a cut puts his finger in her vagina. At this moment she has an orgasm.

The unquestionably masochistic phantasy of this woman can be compared with its counterpart from a man: a 37 year old father

* Translated by Dr. G. Wilbur.

of three children is sexually potent only with the aid of an especially widespread and varied set of phantasies. From among them I will select one at random: To a barbaric idol somewhat like the Phoenician Moloch there is to be sacrificed over a lengthy period a great number of young athletes. They will be undressed and laid on the altar one by one. There is heard the rumble of drums to which are joined the songs of the temple choir. The highpriest followed by other priests approaches. He tests with a critical eye each of the young men. They must satisfy certain requirements as to beauty of form and athletic appearance. The highpriest takes the genital of each victim in his hand and tests its weight and form. Many of the young men will be rejected as distasteful to the god or unworthy of being sacrificed, if the genitals are not pleasing to the priest. The highpriest gives the order for the execution and the ceremony continues. With a sharp cut the genitals and surrounding parts are cut away. The patient who belongs to the visualizing type is able to picture to himself very plastically the progress of the scene. He is himself not a participant, only an onlooker.

Here the question might be raised whether such a phantasy is masochistic or sadistic. During the phantasy, which was used at first in masturbation and only later was called into aid in intercourse with his wife, the ejaculation occurred at the moment when the highpriest showed the knife. The decision as to whether a phantasy is primarily masochistic or is more sadistic in character must be based on information as to whom the person identifies with. In our case it was certain that the day-dreamer identified with one of the victims, usually not the one who was being castrated but with the next who was obliged to look on at the execution of his companions. The patient shared every strong affect of these victims, felt their terror and anxiety with all its signs since he imagined that he himself would experience the same fate in a few moments.

Rather than take the third example from the field of phantasy we will select an actual instance of masochistic perversion. A middle aged man goes from time to time to a prostitute and carries out the following scene: on entering he asks her if she gives Russian lectures. The word is used for masochistic practices in an-

nouncements in certain newspapers of his country. In the mind of the patient the expression connotes the terrors of pogroms and scenes in Russian prisons which he has read about. If the girl says yes, he tells her what she has to do. She must scold him as if he were a little boy who has been naughty or has committed some misdeed. She must say to him that he deserves a severe beating with a club and so on. He exposes himself obediently and receives a blow on the buttocks. In many instances the blow is unnecessary since the ejaculation has already occurred. In coitus the patient was impotent.

It is not to be doubted that these three examples are representative of masochism as a perversion. It is perhaps accidental that in none of them does the sensation of pain or the perception of it play any kind of role or receive any significance. Even in the phantasy of the execution of the young men there can be no question of pleasure in picturing that, rather is the pleasure in the idea of the anxiety and terror. What was pleasurable in the ideas, we should remember, was the fright the next victim must feel at the moment of castration of his predecessor. The castration itself appeared in the fantasies merely as a surgical operation. No stress was laid on the sensation of pain.

If we have excluded then, the pleasure in pain as an inevitable element what remains as a common factor? Surely everything else that hitherto was considered as characteristic of masochism: the passive nature, the feeling of impotence and the submission to another person, the terrible, degrading and shameful treatment by this person and the sexual excitement which appears in consequence of this treatment. There is nothing new in all this. Yet we intend to produce something new, something not previously disclosed as characteristic or at least something which has been insufficiently valued. These characteristics must appear as those which necessarily and inevitably constitute the essence of masochism. Naturally they do not always appear in the same form nor with the same intensities, yet they are always present. Where they are lacking we cannot speak of masochism. In what follows I wish to describe three such constituent elements, which can be demonstrated in masochism as a perversion as well as in its desexualized forms. They are: the *peculiar significance of phantasy*, the necessity of a distinctive course of excitement or the sus-

pense factor, and the *demonstrative character* of the phenomena. It will also appear that these three factors are intimately associated, that they are only different modes of expression of a more deeply hidden essential.

The Significance of Phantasy for Masochism

If we review the examples cited above feature by feature, then the significance of the phantasy as a preparation for and means of producing sexual tension cannot be doubted. The young girl in the butchershop scene must wait, until the butcher has finished his other business. When he turns to her, first must come the testing of the meat, then the feeling of and hauling about of the body. The prisoner in the phantasy of the young men must participate in all the religious ceremonials, experience the slow approach of the priests, the preparations for the execution and the castration of his comrades. He must listen to the cries of anguish of the other victims, must share in their moanings and writhings. The prelude to the scene which the masochist plays with the prostitute is more important than the blow on the buttocks. The entrance, the speech, question and answer, the scolding, the forced and yet desired exposure of the person, the waiting for punishment were the features designated by the patient himself as those most important and essential for producing pleasure.

This peculiar significance of phantasy for the masochistic excitement is demonstrable not only in the later forms. It can be observed already in the original scenes which gave rise to the perversion. For example, take the basic scene in the case of the young Dutch girl. As a child she had lived in the neighborhood of a slaughterhouse. Because of his trade the parents would not associate with the butcher although he was an uncle. This circumstance may have contributed to the fact that the activities of this uncle had a mysterious significance for the child and her somewhat older brother. The two had many opportunities to watch the activities of the butcher-uncle and his fellow workmen. The children watched closely when their uncle cut up animals and then played, in the garden attached to the house, a game of "slagertje" (Dutch for butcher). The little girl laid on the bench in the garden and the brother carried on like a butcher. First he was busy elsewhere, came at last to where his sister lay and

played at cutting her up as he had seen his uncle do. With light flat strokes of the extended open hand he cut the body—still clothed—into pieces. The preliminaries to the procedure were themselves already in some dim way pleasure-toned for the girl. The light blows on the body produced sensations in the clitoris. The example shows that already in the situation where the masochism originated phantasy is significant for sexual stimulation, or speaking more exactly, is so in one of the situations decisive for its genesis. To wait to be slaughtered, an anticipation of being handled, stirred up, even at that time, a sexual tension in the little girl.

Another requirement is satisfied by the masochistic phantasy when, as in my patient's Moloch scene, it anticipates terrible future possibilities. The material for this phantasy was again easily recognizable as a working over of childhood ideas. The religious clothing came from later years and showed the traces of the effects of a varied reading. When the patient was a small boy his some years older brother was operated on for a phimosis and later showed the little one his wound. The later fantasies of the boy sprang from his impressions then, and were directed at his good but stern father before whom he felt very helpless and afraid. He must have assumed at that time, that he also later like the brother would have his penis operated on by his father or by a doctor. In this idea appear homosexual stirrings which had mixed with those springing from the need for punishment and became arrested as a reaction to masturbation. In the Moloch phantasy there is to be recognized in the young men before the altar a series of brothers among whom he has his place. It is a noteworthy characteristic that he identifies with the one who watches the operation and experiences the anxiety of him who is next.

Nevertheless, is the significance of phantasy for sexual stimulation actually so surpassing just in masochism? Its role in normal sexual life is certainly also not denied a degree of importance. Does masochism show a departure here from other perversions in which the preliminaries of a desired situation are demonstrably so prevalent in phantasy? It is indeed the essence of perversion that the phantasies linger on the preparatory activities instead of progressing to genital satisfaction. We may compare, then, the

significance which phantasy has in the sexual stimulation in sadism and in peeping. Naturally also in the sadist and the voyeur the situation desired comes about in phantasy and through such ideas produces a sexual tension. It would seem then that the difference reduces to a plus and minus of the excitability. However, this is not the case. The difference is rather, that the masochist cannot miss the phantasy, that it represents a preliminary which is indispensable, a condition *sine qua non*. The sadist or the voyeur is also capable of satisfaction without such preparation. If a voyeur out walking, let us say, in the woods has opportunity to see a woman exposed, no preliminary phantasy is necessary to produce in him strong sexual excitement. Compare with this the situation about as it would be in a masochist. Let us assume that his specific condition for excitement is to receive a box on the ear from a corpulent woman and to be cursed at. Let us assume further, that this situation eventuates without preparation, that is, without the usual preliminary fantasies. The man in question, let us say, goes peaceably out on the street, a huge woman comes up to him, showers him with words of abuse and gives him a mighty box on the ear. To give the scene some verisimilitude it is only necessary to assume that the poor man is the victim of a mistaken identity. The woman so prone to strike believes she has recognized in him a man who had wronged her.

Will the masochist be sexually stimulated by the sudden attack? That is almost impossible. Of course it is quite possible, that the scene will subsequently be used in phantasy to produce sexual stimulation, but its momentary effect will not be of this sort even though it exactly reproduces a desired situation. This assumed situation is designed to make clear the significance of phantasy for the masochistic gratification. Here the assertion is not, that phantasy is not essential as a preparation in the other perversions, but that for masochism it is absolutely indispensable.

Yet there are two objections to such an opinion. The first would bring up that phantasy is of especial importance as a preliminary in exhibitionism. Experience shows that this is really the case. We are thus compelled to make a correction and are obliged to say: in the perversions with a passive instinctual goal there is a particular necessity for a preliminary phantasy in order that

sexual excitement may be attained. Psychologically this is quite intelligible, for these perversions depend not alone on the will of the person in question but as much or even more on the will of the particular object. It is left to this partner, how one shall react. If his reaction is not the desired one, then no or only a slight sexual effect is produced. This reaction is more important for the masochist and the exhibitionist than for the sadist and the voyeur, who are less dependent on the behavior of their partner. It has been reported that once in some woods near Paris an exhibitionist suddenly appeared to an English woman and—it was at a lonely spot on a winter evening—exposed his genitals. The woman with great presence of mind went up to him and said: "My good man, won't you catch cold?" One may venture to assume that this thoughtfulness had a very moderating effect. For all that it is not quite the case that phantasy is as important for the exhibitionist as for the masochist. A group of young girls who have just come along the path can instantly bring it about that the exhibitionist decides to expose himself.

Another objection has it that in certain cases the sudden appearance of a detail can suffice to generate a masochistic excitement. Thus a colleague referred me to a case treated by him in which the beating of a dog became the central point of a masochistic phantasy. Later the mere sight of a dog whip was sufficient to produce sexual excitement in the patient. It thus appears that in such a case a frank preliminary phantasy is needless. But this is only the appearance, for in actuality the preparation is very extensive and of ancient date. The material has been gone over so often, that everything is prepared. The glimpse of the dog-whip is simply the factor that stirs into activity this already prepared psychic material. Such a glimpse reminds us of something that can come forward at any moment because it is always ready. It is exactly as when we hear faintly touched on the piano the first notes of an old familiar melody. As a counter-part I would refer to the patient with the Moloch phantasy cited above. A low degree of sexual excitement could be detected by him when he saw strong young men in certain postures, indeed sometimes, even when he merely looked at their photograph. These postures had to be of the sort that reminded him of the posture of the victim in the Moloch

phantasy. Thus the form of a young man lying on a couch brought back to him, with the corresponding sexual excitement, the image of the sacrificial victim on the altar of the terrible idol. The objection then is not so strong as it would seem. There is in these cases not a less but a greater degree of phantasy preparation. The fetishistic mechanism which is effective in such cases is the well known displacement on to a detail, whereby the detail becomes a substitute for and representative of the whole. In this there is nothing peculiar to the excitability of any perversion. The sexual erotogenic effects of such surrogate details can be shown also in the field of normal sexuality. A trifling sketch in a recent newspaper pictured a young woman stopping on a street corner to fix her garter. For this purpose, of course, she had to raise her skirt a bit. One of two men happening to pass by remarks to the other: "It's not much, but it gives you a kick."

The objections we have considered were not adequate to make us revise our opinion. It still stands then that the preliminary phantasy has an especial importance for masochism. The phantasy is the primary thing. Masochistic practices are only an acting out of preceding fantasies. Every thorough analysis shows that the masochistic perversion is a realization in practice of imagined situations with which the person has long concerned himself. The actual scene corresponds thus to the staging of a drama and is related to the phantasy as is the performance to the dramatist's conception. It is exposed to the same accidents and necessary adaptations to the means at hand and is just as dependent on the mood and concurrence of the actors. Only rarely does the performance surpass the ideas of the author. More often, even as with the masochistic scene, it falls short of the conception. It is in accordance with the theatrical element in masochism that it seldom becomes a matter of "deadly earnest" as with the sadistic perversion.

Some unconnected remarks about the peculiarities of masochistic phantasy are here in order. A particular feature is the tendency to synchronization, an admirable expression I obtained from the patient with the Moloch fantasies. A phenomenon he had observed in himself was that the sexual excitement ran a temporal course corresponding completely to the course of events

in the phantasy which, incidently, proceeded at a pace in such consonance with his feelings that it was clear he identified masochistically with the victim. Thus the ejaculation always occurred in the Moloch phantasy at approximately the same place, when the highpriest produced the knife.

Striking and certainly in keeping with the essence of masochism is the conservatism or tenacity of the phantasy. Masochistic situations are frequently maintained for years with little or no change and are found in the phantasies to remain exciting. Such alterations as do occur are usually restricted to trifling displacements and substitutions of persons, times and places while the main theme, if it may be called such, is adhered to. After long intervals, however, great and very extensive alterations are introduced bringing about a complete change of theme, a process comparable perhaps to the reform in an old institution produced by the introduction of efficiency. The masochistic situation appears to be wholly altered. The new content in turn will be maintained for a long time and with little variation. At intervals the old "worn out" phantasies obtrude again into the picture. It is thus possible to distinguish long periods during which the psychic processes are dominated by this or that sharply circumscribed phantasy content. The patient referred to above spoke of these phantasy groups as "cycles." So he could speak of the period of the Aztec cycle during which he was sexually excited by the idea of the sacrifice of prisoners in the Aztec kingdom, or of the queen cycle, a phantasy group in which a terrible empress subjected her lovers to horrible torments and so on. One gets the impression that after a long while the masochistic phantasy loses its exciting quality and is superseded. It was only after considerable analytic experience that I became convinced that this tenacity of phantasy is characteristic of masochism.

It is noteworthy that masochistic phantasy and action are not restricted to the visual field. According to my impressions speech also plays a great part. There are verbal masochists who become sexually excited when they are insultingly abused or humiliated. These situations are frequently anticipated and enjoyed in their phantasies. If the scene should then become actual, the masochist will expect and hope to hear just those insulting and abusive

words of which a certain choice, succession or emphasis appears important for great sexual stimulation.

The material in masochistic phantasies is more frequently capable of extension and circumscription than in other perversions. It can assume the form of a story and bring many people on its phantasy stage to act and suffer. It frequently finds support in the patient's reading, the influence of which can be clearly detected in its conformation. In one case observed by me the phantasies of a school boy took as a point of departure for many situations that of Marsyas who was flayed by Apollo. This nucleus proved to be so strong and persistent that twenty years later in altered form it still exercised its exciting effect when the man saw in the Brussels Museum the picture by David of the flaying of the judge Marsyas.

Related to a characteristic to be discussed shortly, the factor of suspense, is the fact that masochistic phantasies cling to, select or test out details. The fact is, however, that the different pictures or scenes undergo a selection according to their capacity for producing sexual excitation and if they do not prove adequate are discarded, as in a kaleidoscope different individual pictures appear and persist for a longer or shorter period. Naturally it occurs that some aspects of the phantasy are effective for long periods and are later rejected depending on a diminution of the sexually stimulating value. To the conservatism of the masochistic phantasy then, there is opposed a need for variation which represents only an expression of the psychic alterations in the phantasying person. Whether a phantasy "succeeds" or not depends on various factors. A successful phantasy is, of course, one giving or accompanied by a satisfactory orgasm. With other phantasies there is none or, at most, a flat orgasm.

It is not always clear beforehand with whom the phantasying person identifies. Surely with the victim, the passive person in the phantasy, but also with the active terrible figure, frequently also with a nonparticipating onlooker, though one to whom is known the feelings of the active and of the suffering figures. The often quoted stanza of the masochistically inclined Charles Baudelaire:

11

"Je suis la plaie et le couteau!
Je suis le soufflet et la joue!
Je suis les membres et la roue,
Et la victime et le bourreau!"

L'Heautontimoroumenos. *Le Fleurs du Mal*. Edition critique Paris 1917.

is in this sense incomplete. The masochist is in his phantasies the spectator at the execution and experiences the pleasure of watching which clearly seems to be an attenuated or displaced sadistic gratification.

The property of evoking sexual excitation is certainly not the only factor involved in the selection of the images referred to above. Other factors such as conformity with the reality situation are influential. Frequently the imagination dwells on the details until they shall seem to conform to reality, arranges and alters the situation until it shall show no gross contradiction with other details. It is the more striking then, that at other times the phantasying person is completely indifferent to such considerations. In the Moloch phantasy, for instance, the patient many times dwelt for long on the idea of a red-hot grill, on which the victims were to be laid, striving to make this detail technically correct in all particulars. On the contrary he gave no thought to the great anachronisms introduced into his phantasy; impossibilities with respect to time and place were, of course, not hidden to his observation but they didn't concern him. This attitude could be compared to the behavior of a poet who sometimes brings his story into conformity with some particulars of an historic event only to permit himself great poetic license at other points. This patient, for instance, had had a long and extensive interest in Mexico and Peru, knew not only the general works dealing with these lands but also special investigations on their sacrificial rites and had even himself searched the remains of these dead cultures for altars, temples and so on. Of course, he was well aware that the ritual sacrifice with the Aztecs was not a castration, nevertheless in his phantasies he insisted on the notion of castration which excited him. As an example of such a phantasy: an English officer has fallen into the hands of the ancient Aztecs, who periodically make ceremonial sacrifice of prisoners to the god by castrating them. Up to the moment of execution the prisoner dwells in the

house of the man who captured him and who also will officiate at the sacrifice. On one occasion he takes the officer who in general is treated in a very friendly manner, into a room in which are displayed as trophies the genitalia of earlier victims. At this point there enters into the phantasy a characteristic hesitation or deliberation: just how are the genitals displayed? In the beginning the patient imagined that they were deposited in a chest. This idea was rejected in the course of the phantasy because the flesh would become decayed and shrunken. Also the possibility of their being stuffed like a dead bird was discarded. The phantasier finally decided they should be preserved in bottles of alcohol. Here is the covert intrusion of a childhood experience, the bit of reality from which the whole started. As mentioned above the older brother of the patient, who was four years old at the time, was operated on because of a phimosis. The youngster must in his imagination have connected the operation with a cutting off of the penis. Later on he could persuade himself by looking that the penis of the brother although wounded was still present, but this impression was presumably less strong than the earlier one which had the character of reality for his phantasies. Some years later the old impression must have been reanimated when the same brother underwent an operation for appendicitis. This time the patient was shown the amputated appendix preserved in alcohol. Here then is that feature out of the reality which has crept back into the phantasies incognito by way of a detour. Some of the material out of which the phantasy was constructed is clearly recognizable. The doubt relating to the detail about the means of preservation represents surely the one then arising in the child, and probably others still preserved in the Unconscious of the adult: if father castrates his son, will I also be castrated? The patient's attitude to his phantasies was ambiguous, on the one hand he devoted to their elaboration a great deal of energy and cleverness, on the other he found them ridiculous and was ashamed of them and did not understand why such grotesque stuff could so intensively occupy his mind and excite him.

It has already been pointed out that the scenes which the masochist carries into effect, which they stage so to speak, are composed of phantasies into which new features can now and again be in-

stered and old ones refurbished for the purpose of attaining the greatest stimulating effect. If one may trust countless impressions gained in analytic practice, then the exciting phantasy first originates spontaneously, only later will it be deliberately invoked for the sake of excitement. So it seems as if masochism as a perversion has its genesis also in fantasies which developed out of a germ of reality. However important the later development may be, the significance of phantasy for masochistic excitement will also in later phases be not less important. If in the beginning in accompaniment to a phantasy an erection of the penis happens to occur then later it is not rarely the case that when an erection reoccurs, the phantasy which has remained unconscious, is called in to reaccompany it.

Peculiar is the course the phantasy takes in the life of the individual with the desexualized form of masochism. At first sight it would appear to be completely lacking or at least without significance. But this is correct only in so far as in these cases there is seldom a cultivation of particular fantasies which then get some satisfaction in the fate of the individual and contribute visibly to a masochistic gratification. Phantasying as a discernible separate activity has to be sure become obscure and is hardly perceptible. However, it has spread out over the whole life and fate of the individual and plays its destined role as, for instance, in the martyr. The life configuration in such an individual is based on an unconscious phantasy, only rarely on the ramifications of a possibly conscious one of masochistic sort in which the phantasying person appears as the victim of a hostile or adverse fate. In place of the sexual partner who inflicts degradation and abuse there appear more impersonal forces which hinder the individual in the attainment of his life purpose and ever again bring him into a situation of frustration or of renunciation, by threats of disappointment and disgrace. In place of the masochistic suffering which stimulates sexually there show up the blows of destiny. Since the whole life story is carried out in terms of a phantasy which conditions every aspect, the individual is spared the necessity of elaborating an isolated masochistic one. In masochism in all its forms then, we note as the feature of primary importance the especial significance of phantasy.

A peculiarity of the masochistic achievement of pleasure.

The other characteristic feature of masochism is an especial form of getting sexual gratification which, hitherto, has received at most inadequate or superficial consideration. The tension is the clearest indication of the phenomenon. Two features show up here and are demonstrably different from anything in normal sexuality: the preponderance of the anxiety factor and the tendency to prolongation of the act. The sexual tension in masochistic experience shows more strongly than in the normal a vacillation between the pleasurable and the anxious and a tendency to being maintained as long as possible, in opposition to the natural impulse towards discharge. Apparently there is an intrinsic relation between these two features. First of all one is tempted to assume that the vacillation between anxiety and pleasure brings to expression an uncertainty which is designed to avoid a decision. However, a deeper insight into the psychic facts corrects this guess. While in normal sexual life the tension shows no note of anxiety or, at least, none worth speaking about, this is a regular feature in the experience of the masochist. This bit of anxiety always receives support either in the phantasy or in the scene itself. There is a difference between the normal and the masochistic tension-curve which in English can be made clear in a word. For the curve of normal sexual excitement the word "tension" (Spannung) is completely adequate, for the other the best designation is "suspense." These two words may be contrasted. Tension denotes a simple state of excitation in which there is a tendency to reach a climax which, it is self-evident, will be subsequently discharged. Suspense on the contrary connotes the element of the uncertain, the hesitating, the being poised and at the same time the idea that there is no definite duration or termination to this state. One can speak of an "agony of suspense" thus designating the painful, even unbearable element in it. But the words can also designate the expectations of children as they sit watching the closed door on Christmas eve awaiting the appearance of Saint Nicholas with his presents. The public that awaits the verdict of the jury is in "suspense" just as is the reader of a detective story. The German language knows no corresponding expression. At best perhaps the "Hangen und Bangen" of Goethe approximates like "sus-

pense" to something of the quality of pleasurable anxiety of a state of excitation. It is certainly no accident that being hung on some kind of contraption is one of the masochistic practices. It is described by perverse devotees as affording an especial pleasure. Presumably it gives a functional objectivity to the suspense sensation.

The second characteristic of the tension-curve in masochism is a tendency to prolongation of the state while the opposite intention of resolving the tension is subordinated. We will put it cautiously: it seems as if such an intention existed in masochism. From a superficial point of view it is possible to believe that the masochist strives to prolong the pleasure and consequently drags out the tension in the sense of all pleasure: "For joys all want—eternity." * But this is only the appearance; a more critical investigation shows that his striving is to prolong the forepleasure, or what is more important, to avoid the end-pleasure. Here masochism can be distinguished from all of those other perversions which cling to the stage of the fore-pleasure. In masochism the end-pleasure is avoided *because it involves anxiety*.

The postponement and ultimate renunciation of the end-pleasure can easily be explained by an analogy: we all know children who leave a bit of food of which they are especially fond until the last. If this tendency to reserve the best of the food for the end continues such a habit could appear to a teacher as a valuable asset for life. In the meantime he should not overlook the danger which results from the hypertrophy of this practice: that the child finally renounces entirely that particular bit of food. The reservation has become a renunciation, from the training in self-control an ascetic characteristic. I know of a case in which a youngster put a Swiss pastry of which he was very fond into a box to preserve it and kept up a continual struggle against his desire to eat it. When finally he did decide to do so and after several days opened the box he found the chocolate cake quite spoiled.

The corresponding sexual behavior is not uncommonly observed at puberty: a typical form of masturbation consists in avoiding discharge by interrupting the manual activity and diverting the thoughts. After a while the masturbation is resumed and

* F. Nietzsche, *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, p. 321, Modern Library Edition.

the excitement again cut off just before ejaculation. The youth given to this sort of masturbation frequently does this for the sake of maintaining the sexual pleasure as long as possible but the result is usually that ejaculation occurs prematurely and without satisfaction or is entirely omitted: thus there is renunciation of the end-pleasure of orgasm.

It is clear that this putting off or better, this evasion of the end-pleasure conforms to the peculiar character of the suspense-feeling. On the one side the end-pleasure is desired and longed for, on the other and for very dim reasons it is avoided. In cases of advanced masochistic attitude there results from the conflict of these two strivings a psychic situation which gives to the course of excitement that characteristic vacillation between the pleasurable and the fearful, a pleasurable-displeasure, if one may use the paradoxical expression and the obsolete meaning of the word, which superficially seems to indicate that the masochist wishes to be free of the sexual tension and yet cling to it, "to eat his cake and have it." The result is that he loses it, or rather that it leaves him in the lurch. The striving for pleasure tapers off into discontent, into a pleasureless ejaculation or in a dissipation of the tension without gratification.

In the suspense-factor can be recognized the stamp which masochism puts on sexuality. In it the alloying of the striving for pleasure with torture of the self becomes complete. The result "earth's insufficiency here grows to Event:" * In masochism the typical course of sexual excitement then will be that the tension never becomes so great as to flow over into a satisfying orgasm, rather it is maintained as suspense.

The suspense factor finds expression either in the phantasies or in the course of the excitement during masochistic practices. Here an example of its working out is pertinent. Take one of the phantasies from the Moloch series referred to above. It has the following content: a line of young men are to be sacrificed to Moloch by being burned. They will be put one by one on a grill which is movable and under which the great fire of Moloch gleams. The victims hang above the grill, the parts of their bodies which come in contact with it are singed. The question with which the phan-

* Chorus *Mysticus Faust* II Act V Trans. Bayard Taylor.

tasy is concerned is: can the young men remain hanging until they are burned bit by bit or will they fall into the flames to seek a quick and merciful death? Or rather, how long can they submit to the torture before they "let go" voluntarily and fall into the fire? By recalling that the patient generally identified himself with the next victim and experienced also his predecessor's hanging in the suspense of expectation that this would soon be his fate, the extension of the moment of suspense can be seen. If the "synchronization" is successful, ejaculation occurs at the moment when, in the phantasy, the victim finally lets go. Another phantasy of this same patient was built up on a detail taken from the book of *Dias de Castello*: a Portuguese, one of several prisoners taken by the Aztecs, has to wait eighteen days before being killed as the last of the prisoners, meanwhile he watches the execution of his friends. The suspense factor in this instance was usually provided by ruminations as to how or which part of the body would be the first to be cut out of a living person, which part would be next, how long a man could stand this before he became powerless and so on. These fragments of the phantasy were suggested by the *Marsyas* myth. The technical details of the grill over Moloch's fire were thought over, turned this way and that, while the sexual excitement calmed down or ebbed away. As a feminine counterpart may be cited the phantasy of a patient who imagined she was threatened with the wearing of a tight cast or of a very constricting corset. The grip of the apparatus which she must endure more and more stimulated in her imagination a strong sexual excitement which she could maintain for long at a peak. The starting point of this set of ideas was an historic event: as a small girl with a bad posture she had to wear for a long time at the command of the mother an orthopedic cast. This historic substratum was reinforced when the half-grown girl some years later began to carry on a wrestling game with an older brother. In this game the shoulders of the vanquished had to be forced to the ground where, according to the rules they had to remain for a certain time. The girl would defend herself desperately but was obliged eventually both in the figurative and in the real sense of the words to "lie down." The suspense sensation was here tied up with the phantasied course of the wrestling match.

and the time of the lying there. There was always the chance that the brother would not force her down or that she while lying on the ground would still be able to raise her shoulders.

It seems, I said, as if the masochist wishes to avoid letting the tension mount to the point of orgasm. The explanation lying close to hand, is, that the end-pleasure is avoided because it is associated with an anxiety. In the further course of events and by displacement of the anxiety the increase in the tension which could lead to orgasm is avoided also. Generally only as the final result of this development does impotence set in, a condition we find so frequently with the masochist. But the way to the solution of the problem is closed if we simply assume, as did Wilhelm Reich, that with the masochist there exists a lack of capacity to increase the tension. In reality such a state can occasionally come about as the result of the fear of the excitement if the fear of the end-pleasure has become too great. It is also not correct, as Reich assumes, that every stronger pleasure is immediately inhibited and transformed into displeasure, so that end-unrest takes the place of end-pleasure. That is only the final result of this course of development. Originally the increase in tension was very much desired, so long as it did not lead to orgasm. It is just the insight into the significance of the suspense factor that permits of no further doubt as to this. The increase in tension, however, permits the anxiety also to increase, so that every indication of increased excitement is reacted to with the urgent danger signal.

It is then only the extension and displacement of the anxiety that causes every increase of tension to appear as undesired, until finally impotence is reached. The masochist has followed the same method in this course of development as was taken by the ascetics of early Christianity who did not permit their will power to stand the test of the sight of temptation, but carefully avoided every such occasion. The orgasm, however, is feared because it brings the threat of castration and death.

We now understand better the nature of the suspense factor. It is, so-to-speak, a tension within a tension—wheels within wheels. Its double need—between anxiety and pleasure—is determined by the doubt as to whether a higher degree of access of tension and the orgasm shall be attained first or not. The attraction of over-

stepping the forbidden boundary is impelling enough, but just as strong or stronger is the fear of the results of flouting the prohibition. The suspense feeling is thus in no way pleasant in the beginning, it only becomes so because to some degree it is next best—in a way in place of the orgasm. Instead of the pleasure which brings with it an anxiety, there now appears an anxiety which produces a pleasure. When masochism has once been instituted, it can then come about that this anxiety is secondarily desired and enjoyed.

By comparing the course of the excitement in other perversions, we come to recognize in suspense a characteristic of masochism. The disturbance in the mounting to a climax either does not permit the end-pleasure, causing it to go over into a plateau or transforms its character even to the opposite, into discontent.

Up to this point we have considered the suspense factor only as developing its effectiveness in sexual intercourse in the absence of masochistic practices. When the individual has not experienced punishment, abuse or pain before sexual gratification the intervention of the suspense factor will inhibit the attainment of end-pleasure. There is thus an alternative: preliminary punishment, humiliation or pain—orgasm; or, no preliminary pain—suspense and no orgasm, eventually end-discontent. Expressed in another way: if the masochist has experienced directly physical pain or psychic discomfort he is quite capable of having the orgasm and of feeling intense pleasure. The climax of excitation is normal. If no serious discomfort has preceded, there appears in place of the excitation climax a suspense, which later leads to disturbance of potency and finally to impotence. This picture of the alternative is correct beyond a doubt. It can be demonstrated in any case of masochistic attitude.

A correction is necessary only insofar as the suspense factor is demonstrable also in those cases where masochistic practices have preceded the sexual satisfaction. And, of course, in quite an unexpected place, in a displacement. Let us pursue the description of a masochistic scene: a patient referred to above goes to a prostitute, induces her to abuse him, has to undress and receive a blow on the buttocks; with this an ejaculation follows. So far the gross

description of the scene. A closer consideration of details will convince us that the scene falls clearly into two portions: into an expectation of a blow to which the whole of the preceding scene leads up, and into the masochistic practice itself. The abuse, the verbal threats accompanied by expressive gestures, finally the minutes long waiting for the blow is more important libidinously than is the blow itself. In many cases the excitement attained during the period of being scolded or threatened suffices to bring on the end-pleasure.

The psychic character of this waiting corresponds in every respect to the suspense. It swings between the pleasurable and the fearful. Paradoxically speaking, it is a pleasing anxiety in face of punishment or humiliation. We have then to make a correction. In the perverse practice also the suspense feeling is experienced and can be objectively observed.

A comparison of the suspense feeling in the masochistic scene and in the phantasy results in the following: in the first case the tension vacillating between pleasure and anxiety is directed towards punishment, being humiliated or shamed; in the second case towards the terminal climax. The end-pleasure is not attained (at least, not without preliminary activities) or else is transformed into terminal discontent. We understand better now the significance of phantasy for masochism. The tension in it (likewise in sexual intercourse with masochistic phantasies) is initially pleasurable and receives its altered character from the force of the accompanying anxiety. To paraphrase it: the suspense factor is now revealed as the former sexual tension transformed under the influence of unconscious anxiety. In the masochistic scene the anxiety has already become something pleasant, one of the later developmental phases. An anxiety-ridden pleasure has become a pleasurable anxiety. From here it is only a step to a point of view which gives on the basis of this conception of suspense feeling a quite altered idea of masochism. Masochism is not characterized by a pleasure in pain but by a *pleasure in the expectation of pain*. The stress, which originally was given to the pleasure in the climactic excitement and to the orgasm has been shifted to the anxious anticipation and the anxiety has taken on its character: it has itself become the pleasure.

Comparing the fore-pleasure with the feeling of suspense shows that the fore-pleasure anticipates an end-pleasure, is in some measure a sampling of the pleasure-premium of the orgasm. The suspense feeling is this too but at the same time it is also an anticipation in the present discontent of the future punishment, a kind of sampling of the dish which one would like to have and which is forbidden. It is thus fore-pleasure plus fore-displeasure and ultimately is transformed more and more into the latter.

But how is it that this fore-displeasure is finally sought after in masochism? All of us will when we expect a pain or physical hurt, try to push away what we fear, we do not wish to bring it about, nor wish to receive any advance on a coming pain. Surely no one who faces a severe operation would cut his finger in order to have a presentiment of the future hurt. Yet under certain conditions everyone has done something quite comparable. Consider the following: I notice a toothache, one of those sudden twinges which come and go without warning. I make a resolution to go to the dentist as soon as I have the time. A half hour later the twinge reoccurs. I know it will come again and I must go immediately to the dentist. I move my tongue and bring it tentatively into the neighborhood of the troublesome place. The contact hurts. A few minutes later I repeat this although I know quite well it will hurt. I do this and surely not for the purpose of persuading myself that the tooth still hurts. There must be some other motive. I have a fear that the tooth will begin aching again of its own accord. I touch it with the tongue in order to prepare or to harden myself. To put it otherwise, in order to avoid anxiety or not to let it become so great. In this way I seek out something about which I have an anxiety—out of anxiety. I take on a bit of pain that I may not suddenly or unprepared be overcome by it. Here then is a sort of intentional seeking of the fore-displeasure, a kind of masochistic act in miniature.

Here is another and more plausible example: a woman patient whose masochistic tendencies have clearly worked over into various neurotic elaborations, reported that already in childhood she had observed in herself a sort of masochism. When at an early age she was put into the bath and the governess had left, perhaps to get a towel, she turned on the cold water faucet just a little and let a few drops run down her arm. This always gave

her an unpleasant-pleasant feeling. It is hardly necessary to remark that the little girl hated very much the touch of cold water and was afraid of it. She knew beforehand that soon would come the final sponging off with cold water, so she anticipated it by letting a few drops fall on her arm. We will not hesitate to assume that the little girl acted so because she was especially afraid. She sought out the fore-displeasure to be the better fortified against the greater discomfort or not to be obliged to feel too great an anxiety.

The fore-displeasure, which is here as in masochism anticipated, is thus designed to protect against a shock or a great upsurge of anxiety. In order to avoid anxiety the unpleasant is intentionally brought into being. In so far as the young girl has brought about the anxiety-stimulating circumstance in a small degree by allowing a few drops to fall on her skin she has allayed the fear. It is important that what she feared is not done to her but by her. She did it, she is the active one, the mistress of her own fate. Furthermore this anticipation by conversion of the passive into the reflexive includes an important time factor: the tension is spread out over a longer time and thus prepared for. When the child turned on the cold water faucet, a shock was expected. When she let a few drops run down her arm, she had lessened the tension by spreading it over a longer time. She had by preparing herself psychologically, avoided a sudden heaping up of tension. Through the longer time available to her in this way, she had transformed a strong excitement into a moderate one.

The factors mentioned in this case can, moreover, be demonstrated in any case of masochism. The fore-displeasure does not come as a surprise but is brought on at the will of the patient, indeed by his instructions. He induces, even arranges, what shall be done to him in the way of unpleasantnesses. It shall not be done to him against his will. What happens to him or what he suffers in punishment or humiliation, happens at a time chosen by himself, timed according to his own rhythms and in an order he selected. The excitement is diffused over a definite period and by this means the anxiety is diminished or eliminated. Overlooking this factor clouds our insight into why, as has often been commented on, the masochist shows no anxiety phenomena. No

anxiety can develop for he has carried into effect just his intention of avoiding it. Instead of suffering anxiety he has himself produced the suffering, instead of having to be afraid of humiliation, abuse and punishment, he, master of his own destiny, has brought them on himself. He has anticipated all these things and all their terrors. Accordingly the masochistic mechanism is in its intentions a flight towards something lying ahead.

The sensation of suspense has disclosed itself to be the final phase of an anxiety development. And just the study of this factor enables us to understand how it is that the masochist succeeds in the perversion in preventing the development of anxiety. To escape the fear of punishment and humiliation, he arranges these himself. The comprehension of this fact leads us further, it discloses as an important factor in masochism the psychic preparedness for discontent. It can be said that the masochistic pleasure resides more in this expectation of discontent than in the discontent itself.

This insight into the workings of the suspense factor helps the understanding from another side of the possibility of the development of masochism. If one of its most essential features is the avoidance of anxiety, then it becomes intelligible that later out of pleasure arises discontent and finally a postponing of the end-pleasure and at last a renunciation of it. A comparison here becomes pertinent, everyone has at some time or other slipped badly in making a highjump. Later an occasion to jump reoccurs, a run is made, the point for the attempt is reached, the jumping movements are made but at the last moment by some mysterious means the jump itself is inhibited. Surely an unconscious anxiety at the memory of the previous failure has interfered. Subsequently one again comes to the point of jumping but now the inhibition occurs earlier, before the getting set to jump, still later it occurs during the run until finally one gives up the attempt entirely, since rightly a slip is a foregone conclusion.

But what gives us the right to draw on such a comparison? The countless experiences in analytic practice with perversions and masochistic characters, and not least the reconstructions to which memories and symptoms of the analysand force us. These constructions, however, find a sort of indirect confirmation, when we

succeed in the course of an analysis in opening up the path in a contrary direction. Then is disclosed for example how an impotent man with masochistic phantasies on his way back to recovery passes through all the phases that have been sketched here. In certain cases of an atypical sort it can be demonstrated that not the development of an anxiety was avoided but the outburst of a strong affect of terror.

We have said that masochistic practices were offshoots of phantasies; they show that the masochist is seeking the way of return to reality. To avoid anxiety he assumes beforehand the burden of suffering, displeasure or punishment which threatens him, in order to be able to enjoy a sexual pleasure. In this sense he represents a pendant to the ascetic or saint who has visitations of sexuality. The masochist atones in advance. He scourges himself or has himself scourged that he may then without punishment have the orgasm. The ascetic punishes himself because of the emerging sexual excitement. With the masochist the discontent is wiped out by the sexual gratification, with the ascetic or saint the sexual excitement by the discontent or by the self-punishment. By association and contrast the two types become clearer if one opposes concrete examples of each. There are countless typical cases in which a corporal chastisement, which the masochist inflicts on himself flows over into sexual excitement and orgasm. It seems that a definite degree of pain or displeasure must be reached so that the transition to a heightened sexual excitement may occur. Thus, perhaps one must be beaten for such and such a length of time, say until he bleeds from many wounds, before the orgasm can occur.

The Demonstrative Feature

I promised to describe the characteristic features which cannot be missed in any case of masochism. The surpassing importance of phantasy seems to me the primary feature, the factor of suspense taking second place. The third striking feature will for the moment be called the demonstrative, a designation which will be justified later. By it, I mean that in no case of masochism can the fact be overlooked that the suffering, the discontent, humiliation or abuse is shown, brought to notice so to speak, put in a show

case. In many instances this feature shows up so clearly that one may wonder why it has been so long under-estimated. Many observers, as for example, *J. Lampl, K. Menninger*, have referred to it in passing since they have commented on the narcissistic character of masochism. I will later show that not only this designation seems misleading but also—what's in a name—that it represents a wrong conception.

In the practices of the masochist the exposure and display of the person with all their psychic concommittant phenomena play so great a role that a constant relation between masochism and exhibitionism could be spoken of. If I prefer to designate this feature rather as demonstrative then it is for two reasons. In the first place to avoid a certain misunderstanding by which the idea of exhibitionism is associated only with the display of what is believed to be beautiful or that which is stimulating. And secondly under the term 'demonstrative' reference is intended to be made also to a hidden meaning of such display, which I shall hope to make clear in what follows. Here it will suffice to remark that in an example such as that of Rousseau, who was impelled despite all shame to show to any lady passing by his naked buttocks, not only does the exhibitionistic nature of masochism become clear but also that important closely related feature which I shall designate as the *provocative*. The showing off or desire to let the other see would indeed be furthered by the sexually gratifying punishment.

Occasionally the demonstration in phantasy—or less frequently in reality—suffices to touch off the masochistic satisfaction. I would remind you here of the girl with the phantasy of the butcher. The lying-there-naked which she felt as most degrading and humiliating, was one of the most pleasurable moments, especially when she imagined that none of the butchers paid any particular attention to her. In the third example referred to above of the man who went to the prostitute and had himself beaten because he was "bad," the undressing and exposure of the backside was almost as important as the blow which followed. Here is to be noticed what distinguishes such demonstration or exhibition from narcissism. At first glance it seems immaterial whether what is to be seen by the other or others is imagined to be beautiful or ugly.

While in some cases the body will be felt by the exhibitionist to be striking and stimulating it appears in other cases to be felt as terrifying or disgusting. Closer consideration shows, of course, a more complicated situation. In the cases with conscious pride in their own bodies or who take especial pleasure in it, the punishment or the pain which follows is perceived as more severe or the disgrace as deeper. Where the body seems hateful to the person, the presentation or depiction of it being felt to be disgusting, this feeling itself will become a feature of the masochistic pleasure and effectively contributes to the sexual excitement. We will recall the example of the extensive sacrificial phantasies of the man who took his sexual satisfaction in imagining that young men were being offered up to Moloch or to an Aztec god. For this terrible death in the fire only the most beautiful youths of the tribe were chosen. They were shown to the whole of the people. Here, of course, a narcissistic pride could be spoken of in relation to the idea that these youths—all “doubles” of the daydreamer—stood before the idol “with nothing on but a smile.” Their beautiful bodies stirred the admiration of all. They themselves, however, considered it as a distinction that they should be called to suffer the terrible death in the flames. The severe chastisement in this phantasy may be contrasted with the deep feeling of impotent humiliation and degradation in the phantasies of a young girl of being watched while urinating or defecating which, nevertheless, brought her a clearly masochistic pleasure. In place of bodily hurt or pain these people often put on a shameful or degrading exhibitionistic display of bodily or psychic awkwardness which in their imagination has a stimulating effect. The “embarrassing situation” is enjoyed with the same anxious-pleasant feeling which accompanies bodily punishment.

With this we are already at the threshold leading to the desexualized forms of masochism. With these there can be no question of perversion in the grosser meanings of the word, but where the masochism becomes a dominating attitude to life, this demonstrative feature is clearly recognizable. When *Wilhelm Reich* in his book finds a close relation between masochism and inhibited exhibitionism he has allowed himself to be duped by the external aspects of the phenomena. A conscious suppression of exhibition

does not, of course, contradict a hidden and yet victorious tendency in the opposite direction. The resultant of such conflicting forces is at most a demonstrative concealment or an exhibition with reversed indications. A young woman, who as a girl had elaborate masochistic phantasies gave no indication of these but she neglected no opportunity of any sort however unfitted to emphasize that she could do nothing, had no distinct character, was inferior to other women in charm and desirability. It was as if she would show to the whole world her complete insignificance. But just in this was the striking feature, she always referred to her lack of attractiveness at the moment when she could have taken pride in it. The onlooker or listener is here also a *conditio sine qua non*. Such display or glorification of one's own defects does not accord well with an inhibition of exhibitionism. It is not to be understood why these "inferior" people do not practice a reticence or discretion as might be expected of them. The self-abasement and self-depreciation which *Reich* feels is so striking, exists indeed but the essential thing in it is that it is so *strikingly present*. The young woman for instance, of whom I have just spoken, was once asked if she could typewrite. "Not very good, really not at all," she answered. Next day she mentioned as if she had just happened to think of it, that she possessed a diploma in typewriting. So there is often a divided or ambiguous attitude. One might say, "Pride cometh after the fall." The demonstrative factor in those who are on the quest for suffering is so general that it can be found also where opposing psychic tendencies have forced displacements, hybrid forms and reaction formations. Generally the result, as already mentioned, is a compromise formation of showing and hiding. That sounds as paradoxical as it is. But just such remarkable blends are to be met with in life. Take a commonplace example: a man enters a room in which a woman sits very free and easy with crossed legs. She will certainly immediately alter her position, and pull down the edge of her skirt. Now there are cases in which this so happens that the pudicity is stressed or demonstrated. The movements which she makes can betray a mixture of such wishes to display and to hide. There is to be encountered in masochism such blends from the most refined to the grossest forms. The following instance made quite an impression on me: a patient had to go to a gala concert of a famous orchestra. She wished to wear

her new evening dress and the pearls she had recently been given. But, she resisted this with the thought that in the small city so magnificent a toilette would attract attention. After long hesitation she decided—*pour épater les bourgeois*—to go in her usual clothes. The result, naturally was that she was the only woman there not in evening dress and was critically inspected by all. Now she had really attracted attention which was just what she had sought to avoid. She felt humiliated and yet superior. In this public display, the realization of which might be called almost cunning, a *coincidentia oppositorum* was reached. The goal was still—to be noticed; the result was—she was looked at. The original wish struggling with its counter-impulse, had led to a masochistic compromise expression, to a sort of negative demonstration or an exhibitionism with reversed signs.

A lawyer had for years visited the sessions of a professional club without once participating in the discussions. Yet he had a strong desire to do so, knowing that he had something important to say. He was stopped from speaking because he asked himself how his silence was taken and got the answer: he really attracted attention by saying nothing. A clear tendency to stand at the center of attention shows up here behind the appearance of modesty. Comparatively speaking: a violet lets it be generally known that it blooms in concealment. Every critical investigation of the psychology of masochism shows, that there can be no question of a dominating inhibition of exhibitionism, for at least there is an exhibition with reversed signs. In the cases of self-depreciation and self-derogation, diffidence and pretended stupidity one can see the same showing off, the desire to shine with one's own defects and failings. It is striking none the less that so many masochists are not ashamed of their weaknesses and bad qualities but openly glory in them.

Everyone knows instances in which persons bear their suffering so-to-speak, for show. Suffering in masochism clearly has such an external aspect directed towards the environment, a facade designed for the bystanders. If not noticed by this surrounding world the suffering loses much of its enjoyable character. Anyone who has attentively followed the reports of this type of case will recognize this: "It is half pleasure, half complaint," might be said with the Mörike-Song. The relaxation of this attention directed at the

suffering can liberate bitterness and anger. A woman patient whose attacks usually produced in her family a great apprehension, once lay on the sofa moaning. When her sighs found no responsive sympathy she got up and dressed without giving to her pains any significance whatever. A member of the ordinarily over-solicitous family who for once had not been concerned over the invalid, heard her mutter to herself: "Well, nothing doing."

Not uncommonly there is that mixture of motives with the desire to conceal in the form which signifies suffering in silence. In many cases of a pronounced type in which the individual has suffered injustice it is like a demonstration signifying: "I bear no malice even if my heart breaks." Such noticeable-hidden suffering being seen shall be admired for the steadfastness with which it is borne. The attention of the milieu must be attracted to this suffering. Here the question can be brought up in opposition: is there then any suffering without such demonstrative intentions? Surely, but then it is not masochistic suffering. The demonstrative characteristic is essential to masochism and is not separable from it.

Nor is this demonstrative feature restricted to the physical field. One thinks of figures such as the Russian writers *Dostojewski* and *Tolstoi*, who showed a real voluptuousness in exposing their failings and weaknesses to the whole world. The same feature can be rediscovered here. The association of feminine and moral masochism in the average demonstrative character is easily proven. *Rousseau's* "Confessions," and "Correspondance," *Baudelaire's* reveling in masochistic phantasies and his compulsion to confess ("Coeur mis à nu") may be referred to as lying close to hand. The same combination of characteristics is to be found in the fields of history of religion. The martyrdom of the early Christians bears striking testimony to the fact that their suffering was seen as "ad Christi majorem gloriam." These witnesses to the faith desired witnesses of their martyrdom, they liked to show their wounds and degradation. They wished the whole world to know of their passionate zeal. One is reminded of that *Stylites*—he appears in *Anatole France's* impressive description—the holy man who displayed his asceticism, his privations and penitences high over the marketplace for all eyes to see. A direct line leads from such behavior to that of Hindu Fakirs and Mohammedan dervishes.

with their selfmartyrdom. One's own suffering and horrible death should be watched by a great or illustrious crowd. Instances that might be brought up as examples to the contrary as seen in individual ascetics and martyrs, on examination turn out to be only apparent contradictions. Even for the solitary monk, for the holy Hieronymus in the desert, for Saint Anthony in the Thebais and for all hermits who subjected themselves to such fearful flagellation, there was the one and all important witness: God. To Him they wished to show how they suffered for Him, to prove to Him how they punished themselves for their sins.

However genuine the penitence or the voluntary suffering is, it could not exist without a public. In most cases it has the character of showing off and does not dispense with a certain theatrical flavor. This demonstrative note is not restricted to the masochistic individual. It is to be found again in the behavior of certain groups and peoples, whose destiny has ordained a past and present of suffering. In the life of these peoples the association of the ideas of being loved and punished shows up again on a higher, often religious, plane. The suffering of the folk is conceived to be a sign of a definite mission, as a token that to them has fallen a significant role in human history. The sexualization of punishment is demonstrable in the psychic life of groups as of individuals. "God loves him whom He chastens." So it is that a race with a particularly tragic history regards itself as a chosen people, whom God especially loves. Here is the folk-psychological analogue of the child's idea: father beats me and loves me. The secret pride in suffering is revealed here: it will be taken as a distinction or as a more significant testimony. The hope for an ultimate triumph can lead to a temptation to indulge in an orgy of suffering. The increase of deprivation and of suffering betokens the close proximity of the day of salvation and victory over the enemy. So in the practices of the perverse the increase of pain can be taken as indicating an imminent orgasm. Only apparently will it be welcomed as pleasurable pain. In reality the pain is bowed to as the phase preceding the pleasure. The distinction is this, in the psychic life of the perverse the sexual factor, in the psychic life of groups and masses the social factor stands in the foreground. In sum then, the masochism or rather the masochistic attitude of religious and

national groups shows the same demonstrative behavior we see in individuals.

To return to the individual psychic life we have to add that the same characteristic cannot be missed in the transformation from perverse to desexualized masochism. In self-depreciation and self-derision before others this feature reappears. Many of these people even when alone behave unlike the queen in the fairy tale: "Mirror, mirror on the wall, who is stupidest and ugliest in all the land?" The attention of others must be drawn to the ego through clumsiness and bad conduct, indeed even by criminal acts. In one case I could study such a transition in detail. A man in middle life who had for years only a masochistic sexual gratification, during the analysis dropped his perversion and attained a normal sexual life. His character had, however, slowly undergone a noticeable development. He went much into society and greatly amused his friends and associates by retelling many experiences in which he appeared as the boob or poor fish. He produced a constant stream of witticisms—killing ones moreover more often than not—which made unmerciful fun of his own stupidity, tactlessness or egotism. Generally he simply played the clown whose job it is to make others laugh at himself. Out of the sexual perversion had arisen, so to speak, a social one. His masochism had persisted in assuming the role of a Schlemihl, a self-deriding wit. The self-depreciation had become a social mask. In displaying his own worthlessness, in cynicism directed at his own ego, he brought in again the self-demonstration. Where earlier he had exposed his buttocks in the whipping scene, he now presented himself in his psychic nudity. I would not like at this point to neglect stressing, that consideration of the result of such psychic development leads to valuable psychological insight into the personality of wits—particularly of that type which turns the shafts against itself—as well as into the genesis of the intentionally comic. Thus the production of laughter by a self-recognition before the world of defects is a kind of masochistic demonstration. Certainly it is no contradiction, that such intentional demonstration of weakness and stupidity occasionally discloses, as in the comical figures of Falstaff and Don Quixote, the masochistic character of suffering. So we find in the clown often enough the peculiar mingling of disclosure and concealment. "Laugh, Pagliacco, make foolish faces . . ." sings Leon-

cavollo's hero. But that laugh should not merely conceal suffering, it should also betray it. Making people laugh, is only the special form of masochistic gratification in the comical individual.

An objection easily disposed of, is based on the fact that the definitely perverse can develop out of solitary practices. Self-flagellation before a mirror is not an infrequent practice with some young people. In one case the patient who brought on an orgasm in this manner, had to see in the mirror the bloody weals he had produced on his buttocks by beating. The solitude is, to be sure real, but not psychologically actual. The person concerned fantasizes a spectator, is himself that spectator many times. This imagined witness has to look on at the exposure and beating and share the pleasure. He cannot be left out for he is the carrier of the pleasure bringing action. As in self-pity where unconsciously another person (mother, father) is fantasized as present and sympathizing as they once actually did when they saw us in trouble so here in the practices of masochism in solitude an active onlooker is essential. For the rest it can easily be guessed how such mirror-beating scenes come about. They are attempts primarily pictured only in phantasy to put into execution a situation in which the one person has taken over the role of the second. Such attempts signify a step away from phantasy and towards the realization in practice of a masochistic scene with a partner who will later actually be sought for. At this point we are reminded of what was said earlier as to the significant and primary role of phantasy in masochism.

Perhaps it would be well at this point to offer some justification for the designation "demonstrative" as applied to the just described characteristic, and at the same time, to differentiate it from analogous designations. It has been said already that the word "exhibitionistic" is not adequate because it presupposes that the show-off is proud of what he displays as if it were beautiful or magnificent. This, on the contrary, is not the case with either perverse or moral masochists. Much rather do they consciously feel their exposure or degradation to be shameful and unworthy. In the best case one could speak only of an exhibitionism with reversed signs as with the Gueux, that Dutch nobility who seized on a designation once abusive ('gueux' means 'beggar') to make it afterwards a term of honor and wore small silver or copper begging

bowls on their hats and belts to show they belonged to the order. Even if one could—with these restrictions—designate the typical feature as exhibitionistic, it would still be wrong to coordinate it with narcissism as many observers have done. (*Lampl, Menninger*) I have described how the tendency of the masochist passes on to an actual exposing of himself for the sake of attracting attention. We will for the moment abstain from deciding whether this is to receive punishment or evidence of love from the other. It is quite puzzling to me, how one can call such behavior narcissistic. We understand by this term an attitude of being in love with the self. As its most certain index or most visible expression appears the characteristic of self-satisfaction. The beautiful youth of the Greek myth who fell in love with his mirror image had certainly no need to draw the attention of others to himself. He was immersed in his own looks and cared nothing about the rest of the world. How different an impression the masochist produces on us. His self display and showing off have indeed every characteristic of the aspiration to make himself noticeable. His conduct is directly the opposite of a narcissistic demeanor. It would be much more correct to say, it is evident the narcissism of these masochistic persons is deranged in the deepest levels since such great exertions are made to draw the attention of others to themselves. The typical attitude of the masochist, which has been described above, could be called narcissistic with as great justification as comparing a gourmet who gives himself up in solitude to the enjoyment of reading about foods to the man who, with his inflammatory placards, parades in front of a hunger demonstration. The onesidedness and lack of discrimination so frequently to be met with in analytic literature, the to me often terrifying misuse of analytic terminology is shown in such giving of names and misleading characterizations.

The designation "demonstrative" for the pathognomonic feature was selected because of all possible choices it can give best an idea of the typical behavior just described. It seems to me furthermore the most neutral term, since it says nothing as to the aim striven for by the masochistic showing off. For this reason also I would renounce the unambiguous term "exhibitionism." So when I wish to specify the goal which the demonstrative feature tries to attain I would speak neither of the exhibitionistic nor of the narcissistic

nature of masochism. A long continued and ever renewed critical observation of the manifold phenomena of masochism shows that the first and most essential goal of the demonstration is universally the same. It can also be conceived as a primary one and be named. The demonstrative feature has the unconscious intention, many times also capable of becoming conscious, of liberating definite reactions in the surroundings: or better of evoking them. I would call this feature "provocative." The demonstration is thus on the psychological side a provocation. What it would provoke, how it attains its goal, and what concealed meanings it has, will be considered later. If I do not on this occasion pursue this theme any further it is because we have here to do only with the universal and typical features of masochism. The provocative character of the masochistic attitude, however, shows already its intimate relationship to sadistic strivings.

THE MEASURE IN "MEASURE FOR MEASURE"

by

Hanns Sachs, Boston

"The least attractive though most instructive of Shakespeare's plays"—these words seem to be the warmest praise ever bestowed on "Measure for Measure" by a prominent Shakespeare critic. Coleridge speaks of it as "its comic being disgusting, its tragic horrible" and this disfavour has persisted to the present day. It found perhaps still more rigorous expression by silence than by disengagement. Of the great mass of Shakespeare literature where the most painstaking research is given to the smallest detail remotely connected with any line or word, only a negligible fraction has been devoted to "Measure for Measure." In thumbing enormous catalogues and looking through endless files, some mention of it may be found, but they are scant and meagre, few and far between when compared with the comments even on minor works as the "Comedy of Errors" or "Love's Labours Lost." Yet a comedy which belongs to the period of the great problems plays, standing in time near to "Lear" and "Othello" can not be considered as a mere beginner's exercise nor has it ever been accused of being shallow or trifling.

The impression, then, is that of a tacit agreement, a sort of conspiracy of silence by which the succeeding generations of scholars bound themselves to pay as little attention as possible to this particular play, to shroud it in darkness as deeply as the light of their erudition would permit. But what was the reason for setting one work apart from the rest and treat the immortal as far as it was concerned as an Untouchable?

The answer to this question seems to be an easy one, since a great deal has been said about the repulsive characters and situations, the coarse jokes and undignified expressions in which the play abounds. The frequent allusions to venereal diseases add neither to the refinement nor to the hilarity of its general atmosphere. These critical remarks are perfectly true, but in other plays occur as many passages which are not fit for squeamish ears and

they produced no similar shock. Besides, in "Measure for Measure" the redeeming contrast to sordidness and villainy is represented splendidly by the figures of the wise and virtuous Duke, the kind and shrewd Escalus and the good Provost.

This contrast may be even too strong to give full satisfaction; the main personality of the higher world, the one whose purity radiates like a white flame, Isabella, carries it to the extreme limit. She is utterly different from the rest of the heroines in Shakespeare's comedies, from Rosalind, Viola, Portia or Hermia, whose modesty likewise is beyond doubt, but perfectly free from disgust as well as from an angry rejection of the "facts of life." Isabella's flamelike chastity is not a flower of the fields and forests, but a gardenia which is kept immaculate in the icebox. Instead of relieving the ugliness of the world around her by a ray of sympathy or compassion she makes it appear still more repulsive. This has to be so, since Isabella's attitude expressed by its unbending detestation of vice the same bias—in reverse or negative—as the pimps or whoremongers by their loathsomeness; it shows the degraded aspect of Eros, the abasement of passion to lust, of high desire to base carnality. For her as well as for them love has been split in two parts and one half of it has lost contact with the other. Her choice is the spiritual side of it, theirs the mere sensuality—both are ignorant of love as the power that binds human being more closely, by every tie, spirit and flesh, to each other.

This is the fundamental fact which makes "Measure for Measure" the thing that it has been called by unanimous consent—a comedy without gayety. Instead of a smile it has the grimace of laughter. Other comedies of an earlier period as the "Merchant of Venice" or "As You Like It" contain the same amount of coarseness, treachery and cruelty. But in them Eros is undisputed master who reigns supreme and undivided and so leads everything to a happy end. That's why "As You Like It" brings with it the scent of flowers and the sweet air of the forest of Arden whereas "Measure for Measure" is pervaded by the tainted atmosphere of the jail and the brothel.

II.

All that we know—and need to know—about the time of production and the sources of the plot of "Measure for Measure" can be told in few words. It has been performed at court on Dec. 26 1604, St. Stephan's Night, as stated in a list in one of the account books of the Office of Revels. This list has been suspected as a forgery, but its authenticity seems to be sufficiently established. Probably this was not the first performance of the play; if so, it may have been produced when the theatres reopened again after the plague in the year 1604.

The plot is taken—with some alterations—from a story in George Whetstone's "Heptameron of Civil Discourses" (1582). The same author had made use of it for a play, called "Promos and Cassandra" in 1578. Whetstone had found it in the "Hecatommithi" of the Italian humanist Giraldi Cinthio (1566) who had turned it into a play as well. It is uncertain if Shakespeare knew the Italian author but not unlikely, since he got the plot of "Othello" out of the "Hecatommithi." In any case he adopted Whetstone's version in which the bad judge is cheated and the judicial murder not carried out, thus making it easier to accept the subsequent marriage and reconciliation. The locality of Cinthios story is Innsbruck, of Whetstone's "Julio" in Hungary, of which the mention of the "King of Hungary" in "Measure for Measure's" Act I seems to be a reminder.

A judge or military commander who holds at this time and place all the power in his hands, condemns a man to death. He is entreated to grant a reprieve by a woman—the sweetheart, wife, sister or mother—of the condemned man and promises a pardon for the price of a night with her. When she has yielded to him, he doublecrosses her by having the prisoner executed. The woman whose sacrifice has been in vain, denounces him to a higher authority who finds out the truth and punishes the bad judge.

This, the essential story, is one of the typical tales that have gone, since times immemorial, from mouth to mouth, from novel to novel, from play to play and from script to script, with countless variations but still essentially the same, never quite forgotten, always ready to be resurrected. Usually it is told not as a piece of fiction but as something that has really happened with all the par-

ticulars of time and place and the names of the persons concerned. These, in spite of their seeming accuracy of details, have never been verified as historical facts, they belong to folklore and fiction. All the same, such an atrocity may have happened in real life more than once. It seems plausible, that, instead of the story being produced by a real event, the event was brought about by the instigation of the story. The phantasy embodied in it must have great power over the mind or at least certain types of minds. This is shown by the fact that it has been recreated and repeated in different epochs and under widely different circumstances. Thus a mention of a similar incident can be found in St. Augustin; in the seventeenth century it has been reported as a fact about an officer of James II, in the nineteenth century Victorien Sardou used it for crude theatrical effect which, with the help of music, holds modern audiences still spellbound in "Tosca." It is, in short, one of the archetypes of the popular "crime and detection" fiction which doubtless owes a good part of its tenacious vitality to the hidden attraction of old but never quite outworn fantasies. We may expect to find that Shakespeare's version of it reveals more of the true cause of its permanent appeal and of the real meaning that constitutes its inner life, than any other treatment before or after.

The general pattern of the story remained identical, but it has been diversified by modifications in every detail. To begin with: how does this man come under the jurisdiction or fall in the hands of the bad judge? All sorts of motives have been used, preferably those which make him the innocent victim of political or religious persecution. In Cinthio's version he is not innocent but guilty of a serious crime: he has raped a young lady. This sexual motive, which is most appropriate to the theme of the play, was retained by Shakespeare but toned down so much, that the guilty man practically becomes innocent. Claudio and Juliet are betrothed to each other: according to the customs of the time—of which Shakespeare himself had made the most extensive use by stretching more than one point in his own premarital relations with Ann Hathaway—they were entitled to enjoy the privileges of a lawfully married couple. This was, in spite of the protests of rigid churchmen, not only the generally accepted opinion, but re-

ceives special emphasis in the play itself when the Duke as the father confessor of Mariana encourages her to take Isabella's place because her former betrothal to Angelo would suffice to shield her from blame. Mariana thereafter calls Angelo her "husband," insisting, that they became married by the consummation of the betrothal.

As mentioned before, Whetstone introduced the stratagem by which another man, a real criminal, is executed in place of the one for whom his sister has interceded.* Shakespeare followed Whetstone in this but the execution is only attempted, not carried out. By substituting for the head of an executed criminal (Barnardin) the one of a man who died a natural death, he goes still farther towards softening the situation. The gruesome—scrurilous scene with Barnadin shows that Shakespeare's feeling was not too soft, but anyhow, in this way he made it possible to make use of this theme for the purpose of a comedy—even a non-hilarious one—which would have been impossible without this innovation. The facts, though they are still dreary enough, are less horrible, Angelo can be forgiven more easily and—most important—a typical comical situation is brought about: the cheating villain is outwitted and falls in his own trap. Shakespeare took the hint and used it a second time in the direction thus indicated. He applied the trick that a substitute takes the place of the victim, not only to the execution of Claudio but also to the rape of Isabella. A new figure, Mariana of the moated grange, had to be created, so that Angelo can become the dupe on both sides. Isabella is kept unsullied and can become the spouse of the Duke, whereas formerly she had to be wedded to a—superficially reformed—scoundrel in order to bring about a final solution, remotely resembling a happy ending. Shakespeare prepared the happy ending from the start by keeping the Duke in disguise present and informed of Angelo's villainous intentions, instead of bringing him in at the end as a sort of *deus ex machina*. This means a great mitigation of the painful tension: the audience knows all the time, that the powers of darkness will not prevail and it lends to the sequence of gloomy

* This substitution-trick is as old as the hills—or at least as old as the fairy tale of *Snow-white*.

events some kind of glamour that they are only "much ado about nothing."

The Duke finds in his search for truth purity and love where he least expected it. In so far Shakespeare seems to have paved his way successfully towards the construction of another of his delightful comedies which are glowing with the joy of living. But at this period of his life he was not in the mood to look mainly at the bright side of things. Cruelty, dealing out violent death, lust seeking to buy body and life of defenceless creatures were not subjects to be treated airily. All these obstacles which stand in the way of a comedy true to style, are crystallized in the character of Angelo. He ought to be, by way of the new turn and twist given by Shakespeare to the old plot, the typical outwitted villain, the biter who is bit, the duped rogue. This figure of "dumme Teufel" has been in great demand for the purpose of comedy-effect; according to an unbroken tradition from the medieval mystery play down to the *comedia dell' arte* he is always made to appear as a funny figure, the butt for the wit of others, the laughingstock for whom the audience need not feel any compassion since he is hoisted by his own petard. Shakespeare broke entirely with this tradition and made Angelo anything else but a laughingstock—formidable, hateful, tortured and torturing, devilish and intensely human, one of those figures that stand, like an eternal reproach, before the eyes of an awed world. This character, in breaking down the framework of tradition, has made it inevitable that "Measure for Measure" became instead of the comedy for which it was intended, a problem play.

III.

It seems that in Shakespeare's time titles were given to new plays in more or less haphazard or offhand fashion; some of Shakespeare's own plays are mentioned by his contemporaries under different names. It is, therefore, advisable to be careful in drawing any conclusions from the title of a play. This caution need not be applied to "Measure for Measure" since the name forms an intrinsic part of the play; it is taken from the solemn words of the Duke which he uses when, at the climax, he condemns Angelo.

"An Angelo for Claudio, death for death
Haste still pays haste and leisure answers leisure
Like doth quit like and measure still for measure."

If we may therefore feel reasonably sure that the name has been selected by the author, than we have before us the most shattering example of Shakespeare's famous and much discussed irony. Angelo's wrongdoings—blackmail, rape, murder under the mask of justice—are as bad as any of Shakespeare's villains, of Jago or Richard III. And yet, he is let off without any punishment, he keeps his rank and fortune and gets a loving and obedient wife—and that is called "Measure for Measure"!

The smiling indulgence for the failings of an Oliver (As You Like It) or a Bertram (All's Well That Ends Well) as natural acts of highstrung youths which, after due repentance, may be forgiven and forgotten, is an entirely different thing. Shakespeare was not in an indulgent frame of mind when he wrote "Measure for Measure" nor does he put his audience in a sweet and smiling disposition by the background he gives to Angelo's crimes. This Vienna, steaming of gross sensuality without charm, frothing of frivolity without grace, this city of whores and bawds and fools and knaves, where they "sell men and women like beasts," makes a sex-offender like Angelo appear more disgusting and detestable than any other surroundings. He pretends to others and tries to believe it himself that he is the enraged foe and persecutor of its vices, but his mind turns out to be their very essence.

Angelo has been stamped a hypocrite by general consent of the critics, but this represents by no means his most characteristic trait. He becomes a hypocrite by necessity as soon as he succumbs to temptation, but till then his sternness and gravity cannot be called hypocrisy that is: conscious dissembling. When Isabella takes up his defence to help Mariana—by the by the most charming contradiction to her all-of-one-piece virtuous indignation—she goes so far to say that she "partly thinks that a due sincerity governed his deeds, Till he did look on me;" and Shakespeare makes it quite clear in more than one passage that this more charitable view is the correct one.

Angelo's inner torment after Isabella's first interview makes him change her harmless farewell words "Save your honour" into an outcry: "From thee—even from thy Virtue" and the following monologue shows how amazed, how absolutely taken by surprise he is by the situation. He has not been accustomed to feel tempta-

tions and he has evidently never yielded to them before. How else could he be so outraged by his present corruption to compare himself with a carrion and in the same breath with a saint whom the "cunning enemy" baits with a saint.

"Never could the strumpet,
With all her double vigour, art and nature
Once stir my temper; but this virtuous maid
Subdues me quite. — Ever till now
When men were fond, I smiled and wondered how."

This leaves no doubt that Angelo's virtue, as far as conscious and outward acts go, was quite intact. It is true that this virtue did not come from the highest heaven of purity—but that does not stamp it as hypocrisy. As this first monologue shows, Angelo's abstinence was founded on his indifference to ordinary sensuality and to "fondness," that is to love in the form of tenderness. Isabella was his first serious temptation because she aroused something in him to which no other woman had appealed before, a desire that had been slumbering—or rather waiting for its time. The other, secondary motive, was the "pride in gravity" which served to inspire those around him with respect and awe. His solicitude to keep this vanity concealed ("let no man hear me") is certainly a sign of a disingenuous bend in his character, but his strict morality on whatever foundation it was built, was not less real for all that. His serious, though unsuccessful attempt to pray shows that he does not take his fall from grace lightly as an old hypocrite would have done. "When I would pray and think, I think and pray to several subjects."

The outstanding trait in his character, constellating his attitude in all matters, small or great, is cruelty. To his subordinates he is gruff and unfriendly, always at hand with a rebuke or a threat. He snubs the simple constable ("Elbow is your name? Why does thou not speak, Elbow?") as well as the kind Provost ("Do you your office, or give up your place, and you shall well be spared"). The unhappy Juliet is to him simply a "fornicatrix." To sit as a judge in court inspires him with the same philanthropic sentiment towards the silly but evidently harmless witness as to the offender: "hoping you 'll find good cause to whip them all." His cruelty is best demonstrated by the fact that he selects Claudio as

the victim for the reinforcement of the laws against profligacy. In this Vienna of bawds and brothels it would have been easy to find a culprit whose transgressions were of a darker hue than those of Claudio. He seems to be singled out by Angelo just because he was the most innocent offender who came within the scope of the law; his betrothal gave him, according to custom, the right of a legitimate husband, especially since these things happened some time before the resuscitation of the strict law. Indeed, this way of reinforcing the old statute does nothing to give it renewed force, but discredits it by making it appear fantastic and impossible. It is not justice or morality which Angelo tries to establish —though he may persuade himself that these are his aims—but terror, wrath and cruelty.

This tendency towards cruelty shapes Angelo's life in two ways: first, negatively, by making the ordinary and normal forms of sensuality unattractive to him, or even repulsive. This may be one of the reasons why he pursues them with this cold hate. As the Duke puts it, he

"scarce confesses
That his blood flows or that his appetite
It more to bread than stone—"

in other words to a free and impartial observer his rigidity seems exaggerated and, therefore, a bit suspicious.

The other, positive, influence consists in his bias for meting out punishment, for making others suffer. He loves to wield the sword of justice and to feel entitled in a higher cause, to be severe and uncharitable, as long as his own life remains blameless; in this way he satisfies his cravings in a quasi-legitimate way. Through his office he finds an outlet for his dark desire in the form of a social function which has his own approval as well as that of society; in short, he shows what psychoanalysis calls a sublimation —although by no means a perfectly successful one since his original nature looks through the ~~red~~ ³ gown. This sublimation breaks down with a sudden crash when he meets Isabella. The splendour of her purity, outshining everything to which he has been used, together with the situation which delivers her in his hands, is too much for him.

"Can it be
That modesty may more betray our senses
Than woman's lightness? Having waste ground enough,
Shall we desire to raze the sanctuary,
And pitch our evils there?"

Thus stimulated and exposed to the storm of desire, his cruelty loses every aspect of sublimation and falls back, regressively, to its original source, revealing its primeval, sensual form. How near these two have dwelled together in Angelo's mind is illustrated by the identity he sees in murder and the sexual sin: " 'tis all as easy Falsely to take away a life true made As to put metal in restrained means To make a false one." The new temptation, against which Angelo fights in vain is that of sadism. This psychological picture,—the conflict caused by the regression to the sadistic stage of sensuality—would to us moderns who are concerned with the psychic processes in their immediate and intimate appearance, constitute an obsessional neurotic. Shakespeare who, as the true son of Renaissance, projected his psychological intuition into the facts and forms of the world outside, made him a judge.

IV.

Judge—This is in one word the problem of "Measure for Measure" from which all the rest emanates. As it often happens with Shakespeare, it looks at first as if he presented only an ephemeral, accidental side of the problem: the bad judge who misuses his power for his own ends, the judge without mercy whose justice is but cruelty. The deeper meaning is not emphasized or advertised to impress the beholder by its profundity, but rather kept in the background and, especially in the comedies, disguised by jokes and scurrility, like a cliff overgrown with grass and shrubs. Who takes the trouble to penetrate the dark recesses of this "least attractive" of Shakespeare's comedies, will find that Shakespeare weighed the idea of the man who has assumed the dreadful, superhuman privilege and responsibility of a judge in its deepest sense, as it existed from the beginnings of civilisation and will exist as long as men are judged by men and not by the use of machines—verily seen "sub species aeternitatis."

The theme that is harped on constantly in "Measure for Measure" and carried through every possible variation, some direct to the point of brutality, some abstract and remote, is this: What happens to justice if the austere judge could commit, would commit, has committed the same crime for which he condemns the offender? what if Angelo is not different from Claudio and deserves to be put in his place—"an Angelo for Claudio?" The question is discussed first in a strictly judicial reasoning at the beginning of Act II by Angelo himself. He excludes the moral side entirely: it does not matter that the judge has the same desires which have led the culprit into crime, as long as he has been able to control them and has not acted at their promptings, even if his successful resistance is to be attributed to mere good luck that shielded him from temptation. ("Had time cohered with place or place with wishing.") He rejects any such plea absolutely: "Tis one thing to be tempted, Escalus, Another thing to fall." He goes even farther. Since Escalus has dropped a rather broad hint, that even he, Angelo may have yielded formerly to the common human frailty in the matter of sex, he asserts that a verdict would be just, even if one or two of the jurymen who passed it, had actually committed the same crime, provided that their transgressions remained secret. But he does not claim the privilege of unknown guilt to himself. Feeling vainglorious about a life which as yet has been blameless he waives any such excuse and pronounces his doom:

"You may not so extenuate his offence
For I have had such faults; but rather tell me,
When I, that censure him, do so offend,
Let mine own judgement pattern out my death,
And nothing come in partial."

The argument about Claudio's reprieve between Angelo and Isabella starts on the same theme with her words:

"If he had been as you, and you as he,
You would have slipped like him; but he, like you
Would not have been so stern."

Angelo, touched by the first fire of temptation, does not answer her by nice legal distinction. He finds no other reply than:

"Pray you, be gone."

Isabella seems to feel that she has come near a vulnerable spot for she softens it down by putting Angelo not in Claudio's place but in her own:

"I would to heaven I had your potency,
And you were Isabel. Should it then be thus?
No I would tell what 'twere to be a judge
And what a prisoner."

In the great scene when Angelo throws all restraint to the winds, this theme is touched lightly, but in such a way that it becomes the climax of the dramatic situation: "Plainly conceive, I love you" "My brother did love Juliet; and you tell me that he shall die for 't."

As a kind of whimsical byplay, Lucio's idle talk toys constantly with the same subject of which he is unable to feel the real import—about the pirate who razed the commandment against stealing, about Angelo's severity being caused by his being "spawned by a seamaid," about the Duke who would have been more inclined to condone these faults since he "Would mouth with a beggar, though she smelt brown bread and garlic." All this loose gossip is, in fact, the same melody in counterpoint.

But the Leitmotiv breaks forth in full vigour in the Duke's rhymed monologue:

"Shame to him whose cruel striking
Kills for faults of his own liking"

The Duke, judging Angelo, sees the problem differently than Angelo did when he condemned Claudio. He does not restrict it to the deed but includes the guilty thought. In the first words of the monologue he unfolds its full significance—and turns it against himself, as the highest, and therefore most responsible judge:

"He who the sword of heaven will bear
Should be as holy as severe;
Pattern in himself to know. . . ."

From now on the theme is given over to the Duke who uses it ironically, to make it fall in the end with redoubled weight on the head of Angelo:

"his life is paralleled
 Even with the stroke and line of his great justice.
 He doth with holy abstinence subdue
 That in himself which he spurs on his power
 To qualify in others: where he mealed with that
 Which he corrects, then were he tyrannous;
 But this being so, he's just."

This irony becomes even more bitter when the Duke sits in judgment:

"Next, it imports no reason
 That with such vehemence he should pursue
 Faults proper to himself; if he had so offended
 He would have weigh'd thy brother to himself,
 And not have cut him off."

These words are pronounced before Angelo in whose ears while they gave him the assurance of his safety, they must sound like the knell of doom.

In the end, in the words of condemnation, all disguise is cast off:

"The very mercy of the law cries out
 Most audible, even from his tongue,
 An Angelo for Claudio, death for death. . . ."

Our play shows, at first sight, how in the judicial mind the self-restraint for the sake of gaining the respect of others and the self-respect break down, when temptation takes the form of the suppressed sadistic wishes. The judge, by this resurrection of his primitive, unsublimated sensuality, is driven into repeating the act which he has censured and thus changes place with the offender. But the scope of the problem grows under the creating hand of the poet and becomes much wider than that of the story. If these possibilities exist generally, if unconscious wishes and drives are not only in existence, but active in the mind of everyone, if they are kept back from coming to life only by special grace of destiny —than it follows that everyman who dares to be a judge, is a potential Angelo. It means, in the fullness of the truth, setting aside as mere accidents the actual temptations and the outward shapes of our acts and our conscious thoughts, that no judge can disclaim his identity in guilt with the criminal before him. In the guise of a comedy "Measure for Measure" unfolds one of the tragic conflicts

which disturb the peace of mind and the good conscience of mankind since the first foundations of social life have been laid. The identity of the man who judges and the man who is judged, the subject of Shakespeare's comedy, has been used two thousand years earlier as the basis of a tragedy which became the everlasting symbol of human guilt.

The citizens of Theben ask their king to end the dearth and famine which scourges their city; they want him to detect the hidden crime in their midst so that the angry gods can be conciliated by the punishment of the culprit. The king sets out on this research and finds at the end of a circuitous route of investigation, that he himself is the criminal, the murderer of his father and his mothers husband. It is the fate of Oedipus, to be unaware of his guilt and to become his own judge.

Oidipous Tυραννος is the prototype and probably not the earliest one, of the man, who judges himself. It has gone through more than one metamorphosis and appeared in different configurations till Shakespeare distilled it out of the old folklore tale, that was handed to him by Cinthio and Whetstone. But its annals are not closed with "Measure for Measure." Two hundred years later Heinrich von Kleist made a comedy of it which has many traits in common with Shakespeare's comedy, but comes also near to the tragedy by Sophokles. In "Der zerbrochene Krug" (the broken jug) the judge tries to misuse the innocence of a girl, by making her believe that her lover is in great danger from which he can protect him. Her lover comes accidentally at the critical moment but the judge escapes before he is recognised. A jug has been broken in the tussle in the maidens room and her mother believing that her daughter's lover did it, demands satisfaction and punishment. The judge before whom the quarrel is brought next morning would find it easy to condemn the young man—but just at this session a superintendent is present. Pressed on by him, the judge has to enter, very much against his will, into the investigation of the merits of the case and, after many comic incidents, is found out as the culprit. This play, taking a place between "Measure for Measure" and "King Oedipus" has with the first named in common that the bad judge tries to rape a maid by means of a threat to the life of someone dear to her, and that the presence of a higher

authority brings the hidden guilt to light and exposes the villain; with the second that judge and criminal are the identical person and the most remarkable technique, the action consisting not in the progression of events but in a step by step revelation of the past which brings about the dramatic development.

The analogy with "Der zerbrochene Krug" demonstrates clearly where the borderline between tragedy and comedy is drawn, that is which elements in the formation of the plot make a comedy possible and which exclude it. In the tragedy the dreadful crimes are really performed, although unintentionally; in the comedies there is any amount of bad intentions, but nothing happens at all. Our mind seems to be built that way, ready to welcome it when mental acts are not taken too seriously and come and go airily without leaving any visible trace, whereas everything that has happened in the world of outward reality produces undestructible consequences and cannot be reversed or made undone. This is, of course, mere semblance and sophistry since mental acts, the offspring of the immortal drives and desires, inheriting partly at least the immortality of their progenitors, are as permanent and unchangeable as any part of reality; they can be suppressed, or even totally repressed, but not destroyed or nullified. To strengthen our belief in this falsification and to make our mental acts appear as something negligible and superficial, looks like a humiliation of our pride; it may well be so, but at the same time it does us a good service by lightning the burden of our social responsibility. If thoughts, wishes and intentions don't count, then our conscience has so much less right to make us suffer for them. This appears to be one of the most important, although never openly avowed functions of comedy in general: the poet, by various enticements and inducements, makes us enter into the spirit of his work: we take part in his world which he constructed to suit this purpose. As long as we dwell in it, we are ready to mistake it for the one in which we live ordinarily and to accept it gladly when it is implied by the way things are shaping out finally, that thoughts without a practical consequence are just "airy nothings." Our thoughts and emotions move then in this better—or at least lighter—world as if they were at home in it: this produces the so called illusion of the audience or readers. Thus the bundle that conscience—or to put it for once into psycho-

analytic parlance, the Super-Ego—has laid on our shoulders, is made to press less heavy. We may sit for a while on the roadside and look around till we resume our weary pilgrimage.

Shakespeare when he decided to write "Measure for Measure" as a comedy, although his mind was far removed from the humor and sprightliness of his earlier plays, respected this fundamental rule by sheer intuition. Whetstone, as we have seen, had already eliminated the unjust execution, but the other crime had to be relegated to the realm of mere intentions as well. The trick by which a legitimate spouse is substituted so that the rape becomes the consummation of marriage, had been used by Shakespeare in "All's well that ends well." It came in here handy and for this purpose a lady who had been betrothed to Angelo and deserted by him, was incorporated in the play. In this manner the original, sinister and bloody story was turned inside out. Angelo's character was much involved in these alterations. As pointed out before it would have been easy to go the whole length with him, to make him the funny, stupid dupe who gets tripped up comically at every step. The usual way to make him ridiculous would have been to bring him together with the disguised Duke in such a manner that the unrecognized master is slandered in his face by the deceived deceiver. Lucio who is the shadow without the substance of Angelo's wickedness, is put in this situation instead. The meeting between the Duke and Angelo is not avoided out of regard to the probability that Angelo would see through the disguise, since Escalus actually speaks to him (III./2). Besides, no comedy worth its salt has ever respected this sort of improbability. What made such a comic meeting impossible is Angelo's character. Shakespeare eliminated all the dreadfulness of the crimes in having none of them committed actually, but he retained, he even deepened their appalling effect as far as Angelos mind is concerned. He was unwilling to sacrifice the character problem to the comedy.

Angelo gets his pardon in the end, this is a foregone conclusion. All that happens to him, is to be found out and exposed; his pride is turned into humility. He had been tormented not only by the fear of detection but also by the cruel pangs of his guilty conscience:

"Would yet he had lived!
Alack, when once our grace we have forgot,
Nothing goes right,—we would and we would not."

This wish, that Claudio might still live, is fulfilled. Indeed, the pangs of his conscience must have been greatly alleviated when he learns, that he, with all his villainy and cunning, has done no wrong at all. Isabella with her clear and unerring intellect grasps here, as she always does, the true merit of the situation and presents it with her usual lucidity. Poor Mariana of the Moated Grange, evidently never a specially bright person, can say not more in his defence than that his badness promises well for his becoming a good husband. But Isabella when, out of her sisterly love to Mariana, she consents to beg for the life of the man who tried in vain to defile her, pleads his cause better than the best lawyer could do:

"For Angelo
His act did not o'ertake his bad intent
And must be buried but as an intent
That perished by the way: thoughts are no subjects,
Intents but merely thoughts."

So Angelo the mighty demon, has been, in fact, a perfectly harmless creature. In his sin he saw himself as Lucifer and felt the pride of Lucifer, so that this relief of his guiltfeeling is, at the same time, his deepest humiliation. This shame is for the proud man a worse punishment than "immediate sentence than, and sequent death" for which he begs as a grace. His sins turn out to be of the same low order than those of Lucio: idle words and bad intentions—and he is punished in exactly the same way as Lucio, by being constrained to marry a woman whom he can neither love nor esteem.

V.

The contradiction between human justice and sinfulness is not restricted to the theme of the judge who judges himself. Its universal significance is expressed by the words of the Evangile: "Judge not that ye be not judged". It is especially closely bound up with the Oedipus-crime. Shakespeare by no means neglected or overlooked this most universal and most general of human problems. In "Measure for Measure" there is hardly a hint of it, but he had treated it some years before in "Hamlet" and—as Freud demonstrated (first in his "Traumdeutung") transmuted the mythological form of antiquity in the modern psychological one. This new form which puts psychic conflicts in the place of fate and inhibition in the place of

act, marks the transformation from the classic and mediaeval spirit to a new era. Since then but one man can be named who went even beyond Shakespeare,—Dostojewski who made of the story of the sons who killed their father the "Brothers Karamasoff" and thus created the greatest novel of all times.

The central problem of the guilty judge, as Iwan lays it down before Aljosha is this: Can you find forgiveness in your heart for all crimes? Can you forgive wanton cruelty, the torturing and killing of innocent children? If you knew, that their sufferings is necessary to form a part in an universal harmony which could not come into existence without it, would you accept this harmony? And Aljosha, being still, in spite of his kindness, the "little Karamasoff," to the delight of his tempter, answers with a vehement No. The Starez Sossima's answer is different: We can forgive the worst sin, the most hideous crime, we can even ask the sinner to forgive us (as Sossima kneels before Dimitri) when we are aware that we ourselves are guilty of his crime and responsible for it. The identity between judge and criminal is reaffirmed in a new sense. For Dostojewski this new sense became the cornerstone of his mystical religiosity, yet it can be conceived in a purely human, untranscendental way and then it coincides to a great extent with the disclosures, made many years later, by Freud. With him it rests on the experience that our entire personality comprehends not only what we want to know about ourselves, but our Unconscious as well. Since unconscious, repressed desires and wishes are essentially the same everywhere, we are all linked together by the bond of common guilt and it matters little if we call it by its Christian name of Original Sin or by the Psychoanalytical term: Oedipus-Complex.

Dostojewski, being a poet, not a philosopher, abstained from working out systematically the consequences of his teachings for the social reality. He contents himself to point out in a general way that the Russian orthodox church takes no part in the judging of the delinquent but tries to help him out of his isolation into which he has put himself by his wrongdoing. "For it is impossible for the criminal to say: I alone am in the right and all the world is wrong." The trial of Dimitri, although the simple minds of the jurymen resist the wicked sophistry of the lawyer, shows that human intelligence working in the service of law and order is not sufficient to

reveal the truth, and it ends with a miscarriage of justice. Dostojewski had his own experience of justice when he was sentenced to death and reprieved on the scaffold. He prostrated himself from then on in passivity before a higher will and tried to find the way to redemption by suffering. But self-abnegation and obedience to the mysterious decrees of a highest master were not a sufficient answer to his creative will and the "Brothers Karamasoff" remained a fragment. Would the second part which Dostojewski planned, have come nearer to a solution? He died before he could write it and we will never know.

This is one of the few occasions were the paths of the two men who knew more about the human mind than all the rest of us, came near to each other. They both look at the problem of universal guilt, shared by judge and criminal alike, but the Russian of the nineteenth century is swept away into mysticism whereas the Elizabethan although he approaches the abyss, never gets out of touch with the realities of life. He takes it for granted that human society has to be carried on and will continue even if it be found out that justice is, by necessity, bound to be a failure. He never loses himself in the quest of man as he ought to be and is willing to accept man and man's life as it is. But he is not willing to be hoodwinked. When he looks at the world, he finds it, at this time of his life, to be rotten and full of evil and he paints it exactly as he sees it.

That "Measure for Measure" was conceived in a period of pessimism, is not a mere conclusion from the chronological propinquity to "Lear" and "Othello", it is attested by the play itself. The two characters that come nearest to Shakespeare's ideals and who, therefore, more than the others may be taken to be the mouthpieces of the authors own attitude are deeply imbued with this pessimistic outlook on life. The admonition of the Duke, disguised as a friar, to Claudio, to resign himself to death, contains not a particle of religious argument, not a word about the subjection to the will of God or the hope of eternal bliss. It is nothing else than an execration of life, of its insecurity, its illusions, its sufferings, of its evils, which no Schopenhauer could surpass, and made still more impressive by the pure beauty, the slow falling cadences of its language. Escalus, a sincere admirer and wellwisher of the Duke calls him "rather rejoicing to see another merry, than merry at any thing which professed to make him rejoice." When the corruptness of

Angelo is revealed to the Duke, he is not astonished or surprised; indeed, he seems to have suspected it from the beginning.

Nor stays Isabella's pessimism much behind. When the Duke tells her of the deserted Mariana, her natural reaction is: "What a merit were it in death to take this poor maid from the world! What corruption in this life that will let this man live!"—This contempt for life and everything it has to offer is, not less than her desire for perfect purity, the cause of her wish to spend her life behind the walls of a convent. Her disgust that her brother should cling to a life bought at the price of infamy appears less harsh, her forbidding severity is not quite so awe-inspiring, since she herself considers life as a thing that is hardly worth having. She is absolutely sincere when she says:

"O were it but my life
I'd throw it down for your deliverance
As frankly as a pin."

The Duke and Isabella are, therefore, well matched in every respect: They are both good and virtuous and not much in love with life. A caricature of their attitude must not be missing in this bitter comedy. It is furnished by Barnardine who carries the contempt of life to the point where it becomes inhuman:

"A man that apprehends death no more dreadfully but as a drunken sleep; careless, reckless and fearless of what's past, present, or to come."

The Duke calls him "Unfit to live or die." In the end Barnardine is pardoned with the rest.

Shakespeare's pessimism speaks not only through the mouths of his hero and heroine, it pervades the whole play and imparts to it the pungent and bitter taste that aroused the displeasure of the critics. In showing up all sorts of depravity, he tears away the last shred of pretence from them and mocks their repulsive nakedness with exultant despair. It is all so ugly and distressing, but just for this reason he does not want to mollycoddle himself about the truth. Life is not good—then let us find out how bad it can be! Lust and cruelty, one is as horrible as the other, as long as one takes man serious. Don't take him serious and the horrible thing becomes a comedy—the bitterest comedy ever written.

One question remains. Did Shakespeare really want to except his hero, the Duke, from all contamination of the wickedness around him? Of course, the part allotted to him as the defender of virtue and chastity makes it impossible to expose such frailties. But are there not slight innuendos? That Lucio says of him, that "he had some feeling of the sport; he knew the service and that instructed him to mercy," means nothing, for Lucio's words are but a projection of his own salaciousness. It is somewhat more to the purpose that Friar Thomas suspects him of a love-intrigue, so that he has to protest:

"Believe not that the dribbling dart of love
Can pierce a complete bosom."

In the monologue at the end of Act III. he speaks, without further explanation of "my vice." Maybe a distant inkling of the feeling, that he would not be unable to commit the same crime as Angelo is at the bottom of the somewhat obscure words with which he proclaims Angelos pardon: "I find an apt remission in myself."

The most instructive fact is how the Duke woos Isabella and how she reacts. He proposes to her, taking her acceptance for granted. Yet, there is not the slightest indication that she is in love with him and she who has always, in the most difficult situation "le mot juste" on her lips, accepts his offer not even with one poor syllable. Wouldn't she prefer to go back to her convent from which she was drawn, much against her inclination, by her brothers peril? Any constraint is out of question, but it is not easy to decline an offer of marriage which comes from your lord and master, from the man who saved your brothers life. As Angelos wedding parallels on a higher level the enforced marriage of Lucio, so performs the Duke, in a legitimate and honourable way, the crime which Angelo attempted in vain.

The moral of it is: they all are sinners. Even the highest and purest judge is not better than the villain whom he judges. But what of that? If this world is so full of horrors, if life is a thing without real value, what does it matter, if a man tries to take away his brothers life? Even if he succeeds, he cannot succeed in robbing him of anything that is worth while. We are sinners all, but impotent sinners, deceivers deceived by our own passions. Condemning each other we are "like an angry ape."

Not justice, mercy only may bring some rays of light into the abyssmal darkness while it "will breathe within your lips."

If this measure is applied, the pardon of Angelo which seems such a flagrant injustice, is not irony but really and truly "Measure for Measure."

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by

Ernest Jones M. D.

President of the International Psycho-Analytical Association

As a close friend of Prof. Freud and his family for more than 30 years it is my privilege to voice our last respects to him. I speak for his family and his friends gathered here, and I also think of friends far away, of Brill, Eitingon, Federn, Sachs and others and of the shades of Abraham and Ferenczi. Our first thoughts must surely be for the dead man himself. Those who know the horrors of suffering he has passed through, sufferings which reached an unspeakable intensity in the last few months, must be possessed with a sense of relief for his sake. He will suffer no more. It was hard to wish that he would live a day longer when his life was reduced to a pin-point of personal agony. Nor did he in any way dread death. And that although what in others expresses itself as religious feeling did so in him as a transcendent belief in the value of life, and in the value of love. Thus one can say of him that as never man loved life more, so never man feared death less. He had lived a full life, had experienced and felt its heights as well as its depths; he had warmed both hands at the fire of life, and life had nothing left to offer. He died surrounded by every loving care, in a land that had shown him more courtesy, more esteem and more honour than his own or any other had, a land which I think he himself esteemed beyond all others. He is being buried to-day in the atmosphere he would have wished, one of stark truth and realism; in sheer simplicity, without a note of pomp or ceremony.

He has lost nothing through death, so we cannot truly mourn for his sake. But what of ourselves? A world without Freud! A world without that vivid personality, without that entrancing and benign smile; without those wise and trenchant comments on the great and small things of life, that "Grosszügigkeit" in instant readiness to help. It is not long since he wrote

to me about a sad case of misfortune: "Leider kann ich hier nur mit Geld helfen." (To my regret I can help here only with money.) How small this kind of help seemed when compared with his wont. At my first meeting with him so long ago three qualities in particular produced an impression on me that only deepened as the years passed. In the first place his nobility of character, his "Erhabenheit." It was impossible to imagine his ever doing a petty thing or thinking a petty thought. Many years ago he conducted a private correspondence with Putnam on the subject of ethics. Putnam showed it me and I remember these two sentences: "Ich betrachte das Moralische als etwas Selbstverständliches." . . . [I consider morals as something that needs no special injunction.] "Ich habe eigentlich nie etwas Gemeines getan." [All considered, I never committed an act of meanness in my life.] How many of us, if we search our hearts, could truthfully say that? Those of us who have special knowledge concerning the imperfections of mankind are sometimes depressed when we consider ourselves and our fellow men. In those moments we recall the rare spirits that transcend the smallness of life, give life its glory and show us the picture of true greatness. It is they who give life its full value. There are not many of those rare spirits and Freud was among the highest of them.

Then his direct and instinctive love of truth, his hatred of all deception, ambiguousness and prevarication. One feels that no one could ever have lied to him. Not only that it would have been useless, but any wish to do so would have melted in his presence. With his love of truth went that of justice and fair dealing. "Fairness" was one of the English words he was fondest of. Lastly, his courage and inflexible determination. That concerns more his scientific life, of which we are not here thinking in the first place; but when one recollects his detractors in that field, and his imperviousness to their attacks, many of us are reminded of the lines in Shelley's "Adonais"

He wakes or sleeps with the enduring dead:

Thou canst not soar where he is sitting now.

A great spirit has passed from the world. How can life keep its meaning for those to whom he was the centre of life? Yet we do not feel it as a real parting in the full sense, for Freud has so inspired us with his personality, his character and his ideas that we

can never truly part from him until we finally part from ourselves in whom he still lives. His creative spirit was so strong that he infused himself into others. If ever man can be said to have conquered death itself, to live on in spite of the King of Terrors, who held no terror for him, that man was Freud.

And so we take leave of a man whose like we shall not know again. From our hearts we thank him for having lived; for having done; and for having loved.

AN UNKNOWN LECTURE OF FREUD'S *

by

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(New York)

Preface

The peculiar fate of this lecture may be explained in quite simple fashion: it was not published under *Freud's* name but under mine, by the expressed wish of *Freud*. It formed a portion of an introductory course to analysis given in the great auditorium of the Vienna Psychiatric Clinic and was given early in November 1913. The writer of these lines, a member of the group of *Freud's* pupils since 1909 was one of a large mixed audience of medical men and laymen, of both sexes. As customary *Freud* spoke extemporaneously without notes. The lecture which is here in question was one of the last in the winter semester in which *Freud* was concerned in particular with the phenomena in the psychopathology of every day life. He used to report on these occasions examples brought to his notice by the current experience of the day. These he made the subject of analytic observation and interpretation. It was his intention to give us, his hearers, an extensive idea of the analytic technique of interpretation. On this particular occasion he brought with him a recent number of a French scientific journal from which he read aloud a doctor's report on his own interesting personal experience.

I wrote down a large part of the course in abbreviated form with the intention of subsequently reviewing and expanding the notes. As was customary I walked home with *Freud* after this lecture. I recall that in our conversation I begged him to write out the lectures and publish them. He seemed surprised and had some objection to make. He subsequently published, as is well known, not the lectures of this year but those of the winter semesters of 1915-16 and 1916-17 as "A General Introduction to Psycho-analysis."

*Translation by Dr. G. Wilbur.

Some days later on the occasion of sending *Freud* a review I reminded him of the conversation. It had occurred to me during the lecture and again in reviewing the notes that *Freud* in analysing the reported material had neglected to mention some explanations which arose from it. I wrote out the essential part of the lecture from my notes in the form of a review and added my supplementary interpretations. In my letter I remarked that it would be too bad to lose this beautiful analysis and again begged him to publish it. The beginning of a letter dated 13 November 1913 contained the following answer: "My dear Doctor, of your two articles one is especially striking, that completing my analysis of *Demolle*. As a matter of fact I had not noticed the parallelism

Nicoud — Larin
Vaschide — Freud,

I suggest that you publish your review of the whole analysis under your own name in the "Zeitschrift," not as a review but as an essay and thus utilize my remarks in the lecture." In a later conversation I remarked to *Freud* that in his talk he had given all that was essential in the way of analytic explanation of the case and that my supplement had only the value of a vignette. He replied that on the contrary the analysis without my additions gave an impression of being incomplete and requested me to follow his suggestion. The essay was published in the "Internationale Zeitschrift für ärztliche Psychoanalyse" ii, 1914 S.151 ff. under the title "Ein Fall von plötzlicher Ueberzeugung". A little noticed footnote ran: "The following analysis of a complex psychological phenomenon is only in part my very own. I have made use here of a lecture given by Prof. *Freud* in November 1913."

What follows now is an attempt to reconstruct the lecture which *Freud* gave then, twenty six years ago. For this I make use, in addition to the published portion, of my recollections. This attempt naturally can make no claim to be a faithful verbal reproduction of the lecture, but it seems faithful to the spirit. My memory tells me that in many places even the verbal text has been exactly preserved.

To maintain the unity and continuity I believe it necessary to interpolate my supplementary remarks into the text of the

lecture. Although I put them in their appropriate place and append my name I believe the lecture to have preserved *Freud's* meaning. He had himself inserted some small stylistic changes in my original manuscript and added the final sentence as it appears here. What follows is thus the reconversion of the lecture into the original form.

A case of sudden conviction.

Ladies and Gentlemen: The last time we were concerned with all sorts of minor puzzles that permit of analytic interpretation. Certainly any one of you can relate from your own experience examples of one sort or another that would be suitable in this connection. To whom has it not happened that a surprising combination of circumstances has startled him and made thoughtful and who has not attempted to find an explanation for events that seemed so peculiar and out of the ordinary. Psychoanalysis is certainly in no position to solve all such cases to entire satisfaction, but in a large number of instances it does afford a surprising elucidation. Such stirring minor events do not usually cluster around a turning point in our lives, in connection with some important decision or some circumstance which alters the course of our life. They happen rather in the routine of our daily life and seem to endeavor to tell us that not everything that may happen every day is of everyday significance.

We will make use of any opportunity that promises to teach us more about the psychological presuppositions and motives of such puzzling phenomena. Recently a young physician *Dr. V. Demole* published in the Swiss journal "Archives de Psychologie" edited by Professors *Th. Flournoy* and *Ed. Clarapède*, an account of a peculiar experience that belongs in this category and which must lay claim to our analytic interest. I will read a translation of *Demole's* story: "One morning in October 1912 I awoke and lay, as I am accustomed to do, half dreaming when suddenly I had the quite clear, certain and somewhat anxious perception that a patient on my service had died. Immediately I thought of checking on this, automatically I reached for my note book close to the bed and noted down promptly everything that had passed through my mind on awakening. Thanks to these notes I can reconstruct my psychic processes and understand when and how I had committed a psychological sin."

These are the facts as reported by *Demole*. He recorded his notes in a telegraphic style: I awoke, I stretched out, a moment of dreaming and suddenly I said to myself: *Larin* is dead. I was astonished first by the news and then by the feeling of certainty. Why am I so certain of this conclusion? I have really no grounds for it. Was this a prophetic vision? Or rather, a telepathic perception? Since there was an opportunity to test this I felt lucky. Immediately literary references came to mind: a succession of flashing images that succeeded each other with a rapidity that defied all description: *Vaschide* (brown cover of "Telepathic hallucinations")—*James* (a perception of the sea, spectacle of waves)—*Swedenborg* (green map of Sweden and Norway)—*Freud* (yellow map of Austria: Vienna a black point on the Danube): his book, the "Psychopathology" which I had only just finished reading a few days before. *Freud* . . . unconscious . . . quickly, so that I may analyse myself (I stretch out my hand and grab paper and pencil). Of what have I thought? Immediately before the presage I had thought of the professor of pathological anatomy. Why? Because I want to ask him if I may go to the Paris Congress with him. (I had had this project in mind for several weeks.) That is the first thought that came to me this morning, before that nothing, nothing. I placed my hand on the alarm clock. Yes, I had wanted to ask him at the last autopsy. Now I see myself at the desk, as I note down the protocol, while the professor in a rubber coat does the dissection . . . dissects *Larin*. Autopsies *Larin* . . . but: that is impossible; he is still living. Who then? Would this be a second death sign? Is it not peculiar that I should think twice of *Larin* as being dead? I lay down the pencil and think back. The last autopsy was on the patient *Nicoud* — that is certain: proof for that, that I embedded in celloidin a part of the brain and wrote on the tag "Nicoud". *Nicoud*, I think suddenly had his bed in the same room as *Larin* . . . again *Larin*. Astonished at this new verification I again seized my pencil, added to my notes and as I observed that it was high time, dressed hastily and went on my rounds. The door is still open: I ask: "and *Larin*"; they answer: "he died this morning at four o'clock". I hold my breath. Then breathe deeply again. . . . I feel lucky in the presence of such an interesting case. *Freud* . . . *Vaschide*."

Demole then reports that he had not seen *Larin* for two days.

On the last visit to him the patient had been very weak and was curled up in his blankets. The nurse who accompanied the doctor said that *Larin* in the last 24 hours had refused all food. *Demole*, nevertheless, left the patient without expecting any immediate fatal outcome for he knew that this sort of old chronic case could exist a long time without nourishment. Some days before, the patient *Nicoud*, who occupied a bed exactly opposite *Larin*, had died in this same room. Later *Demole* verified that the autopsy on *Nicoud* had taken place on October 5th, 1912. *Larin* died October 9th. In the meantime no autopsy had taken place.

Like *Larin* *Nicoud* had died of a lingering illness, finally refusing food and passing into a coma. *Demole* could thus find analogies between the two patients: both were old, always bedridden, whining, wasting away, refusing food in the end and dying under the same circumstances. The countless analogies appear to *Demole* well designed to produce a confusion of the two; in thinking of the one, the other was also thought of, they were like twins.

Demole attempted to use this as the starting point for an explanation. So soon as his day dreaming came to the autopsy room there were many possibilities for substituting the corpse of *Nicoud* with his double. In general the essential differences between the two reduced simply to the features and the names: "And as for the name, do we not bury that with the corpse?" It rarely happens that one devotes thought to a patient who died some days ago. One is always concerned with a patient just before the end. There are many reasons for this. The physician is always deeply interested in the anatomical confirmation of the diagnosis. During life the patient is "cathexed with affect" and at autopsy a kind of "abreaction" occurs. *Demole* here uses analytic terminology which calls to his mind my name. After the satisfaction of the scientific curiosity the deceased becomes merely banal: "The dead *Nicoud* is buried in oblivion; the dying *Larin* approaches an event that is at least as important as his birth." You see, *Demole* believed on the basis of this sudden conviction, his "conviction spontanée," that he had recognized an interchange, a substitution. It was brought about by the fact that the patients in question showed many common and not easily distinguishable features. The name of the one was almost forgotten, while *Demole* had easily at his command that of the other. Thus it happens that the one as

deceased has no more significance, while the second as dying is in his thoughts. A noteworthy factor enters here: *Demole's* superior held *Larin* to be senile with multiple areas of softening in the brain and *Nicoud* to be arteriosclerotic, apparently subsequent to lues. With *Nicoud* the diagnosis was confirmed. How great was *Demole's* astonishment when the autopsy on *Larin* disclosed the same characteristic lesions that *Nicoud* had shown. It was one analogy more.

To explain the strange event that had happened to him, *Demole* made use of the concept of the unconscious. He imagined the relations between the associations to be exactly like the chemists affinities between elements. Every perception, every conscious or unconscious idea is associated with other perceptions or images, just as atoms mutually satisfy their valences. Thanks to these intuitive ideas the psychic mechanism of his "conviction" seemed quite simple to *Demole*. The first thought on awakening was an expectation: the Congress at Paris with which was associated the professor of Pathology (seen by *Demole* at the last autopsy). The remaining associative links arranged themselves around the basic idea "autopsy room": the corpse of *Nicoud* reminded him of the characteristics of the patient without, however, stirring up his name. *Larin* had the same characteristics so he was substituted for the true bearer of them. Thereupon the dead *Larin* appeared in opposition to *Demole's* knowledge that *Larin* still lived. The resultant affect awakened attention and the idea "Larin—dead" suddenly became conscious, as a seemingly spontaneous idea without relation to earlier ones since the preceding thought about the "Professor of Pathology in the autopsy room" did not stand in any apparent association to *Larin*. There was no recollection of the intervening members of the string of associations, since these were unconscious. Only the immediate psychoanalysis could afford us evidence of their existence, said *Demole*.

You see here, that psychoanalysis was for the physician only a method of discovering unconscious associations. He ascribed to its method a definite heuristic value. This acknowledgement is restricted, however, to this task of filling in such lacunae. I would like to show you in this case that the analytic method can claim much wider powers in the field of psychological investigation.

As has been said, it seemed to *Demole* that his experience of sudden conviction could be explained as an unconscious substi-

tution. But this in turn was conditioned on the coming together of extraordinarily favorable circumstances and the half-sleeping state that immediately followed awakening. *Demole* added to his attempt at explanation some remarks of a general nature on similar experiences.

Sudden conviction is usually accompanied by a strong affect of shock. The affirmative thought produces astonishment, disorientation, terror; it is thus very comprehensible that in religious spheres such forceful expressions as "revelation", "feeling oneself filled with The Grace", "touched by the Finger of God" are employed to describe the reaction to "conviction". *Demole* cited the case of a Polish philosopher who found himself suddenly converted to Catholicism on leaving a bath. It would in *Demole's* opinion be too daring to wish to explain all the different cases of "conviction spontanée" as simple unconscious interchanges. There are, it is apparent, several psychological mechanisms which bring about the same result but they differ from case to case.

What I have thus brought before you is in its general features the attempt at explanation by the young physician. *Demole's* essay concludes with the observation that he had ascribed to the two patients a common feature which did not in reality exist: the one was designated by the word *gâteux*, bed-wetter. The *incontinentia urinae*, however, applied only to *Nicoud*. *Larin* was not subject to it. *Demole* finds this error consonant with his attempt at explanation, indeed even designed to confirm it. To explain this incorrect designation in relation to *Larin*, *Demole* takes into account the locality. *Larin* and *Nicoud* occupied opposite beds in a room on the first floor of the hospital. Immediately under this room, on the intermediate floor there was another room with exactly the same architectural features, the same number of windows and beds, etc. Even the patients in the two rooms were similar, old bedridden chronic cases whom one easily confused. To *Demole* it had several times happened that intending to go to a patient on the first floor he had gone to one on the intermediate and vice-versa. In the lower room exactly under the bed occupied by *Larin* there had been for some months a patient whom *Demole* had catheterized many times and who often used to wet the bed. *Demole* had thus ascribed to *Larin* that symptom from which the other suffered and had done this not on the basis of some personal similarities but

simply because of the similarity of locality. The interchange must have come about the more easily since *Nicoud*, *Larin*'s double, was also a bed-wetter. The doctor saw these phenomena of displacement as analogous to those we observe usually in dreams. According to more or less transparent motives we transform objects, reverse situations, transpose characters and provide one person with the failings and characteristics of another.

You will acknowledge with me that *Dr. Demole* has endeavored with conscientiousness and intelligence to give a psychological explanation of his experience. Yet why does his explanation make an unsatisfactory impression on us? He was, in my opinion, too moderate, too easily satisfied. He restricted himself to describing the visible phenomena and utilized psychoanalysis only to discover the unconscious connecting ideas. If we restrict ourselves to this all too modest use of our method, then we gain about what *W. Wundt* and his school said with the aid of association psychology, only in other words. But psychoanalysis can accomplish much more than this. It starts from a dynamic conception of the psyche and seeks to ascertain the hidden intentions and impulses which lie at the base of such an experience. The discovery of unconscious associations is surely an unavoidable presupposition of such an investigation. But it has the meaning only of preliminary work to be carried out in order to gain a glimpse of the play of psychic forces which goes on behind the scenes of conscious phenomena.

We are not the only ones who felt the attempt at explanation by *Demole* to be unsatisfactory. He found an immediate critic who brought severe objections to his argument. One of the editors of the "Archives de Psychologie" did not let the interesting study of *Dr. Demole* pass without an equally interesting postscript. His criticism took as a point of departure something that will certainly surprise you. He said that the explanation which *Demole* had given of his sudden conviction as being purely psychologically conditioned would have been complete if *Larin* had not actually died. But just the fact of *Larin*'s death stirred up a doubt of the correctness of the argument. Is it not possible that the event itself had been unconsciously perceived by *Dr. Demole* during his sleep and thus had given rise to the certainty of *Larin*'s death?

"Would it not have been possible," asks *Flournoy*, "that early in the morning an unusual disturbance created by the event of the

death, some conversation of patients in the corridor, had left some trace in the unconscious of the sleeper and had been subsequently reported?" In favor of his view *Flournoy* referred to the combination of two factors: 1) the psychic events (memories, regrets, wishes) in *Dr. Demole* related to the autopsy of *Nicoud* where he had the opportunity to speak to the professor of pathology but let it go by. Why had this conviction occurred on the morning of *Larin's death*, why not on one of the previous three days, why at all in any case? 2) the information given *Flournoy* by *Dr. Demole* that this was the first and only time in his life that he had ever experienced such a thing.

I will read you the information contained in *Demole's* letter to *Flournoy*: "I have never previously experienced anything like this that happened to me in October 1912. I can be quite sure of this for I have always been interested in psychology, even before I knew your name in this connection. When I was quite small everything connected with the soul, the religious secret, tormented me unceasingly . . . ("me tourmentait sans cesse"). If I had experienced such a phenomenon I would certainly have noted it. Once when I was 13 years old I saw a passionate wish fulfilled in an unexpected manner. Some years ago I dreamed that an uncle had married; several weeks later I learned of his betrothal. That is all."

The single experience of this sort corresponded then to the reality. It is not deceptive as one might expect. It appeared to *Flournoy* therefore that in view of such a double coincidence the believers in telepathy could claim the case for themselves with some justification. The conditions and circumstances of the "conviction" were such that the most plausible way to explain it was by a combination of psychoanalysis and conjecture about supernatural psychology. If one were an adept of occultism one's conception of the case would certainly have envisaged the possibility that the "Omnipotence of thought" and the objective wishes had hastened the death of *Larin* at least, even if they had not brought it about. *Flournoy* is no less surprised that *Dr. Demole* sought no explanation for the actual connection of his thought and the fact of *Larin's* death, but instead restricted himself only to the psychogenesis of the "conviction". *Dr. Demole* surely knew of the metapsychic problems because he refers to telepathy

several times, cites *Vaschide*, *Meyer*, etc. But he treats the check up of which he immediately thinks after the "conviction" as if that had been belied by reality and he had found *Larin* still living. *Flournoy* remarks in reference to this that *Demole* wants to investigate, "why, where, and how I have psychologically sinned (péché)?"

Demole did his best to explain an error — by an effort which showed there was no error. This position which is not appropriate to so penetrating and keen a spirit as that of *Dr. Demolle*, corresponds obviously to a phenomenon of lack of attention, of a momentary psychic blindness which comes within the scope of the "Psychopathology of Everyday Life". It betrays in *Dr. Demole* the presence of a poorly repressed complex which exercises on his awareness a kind of inhibition (or intellectual anesthesia) in relation to "occult" possibilities. But our author shares this attitude with most scientists. Their ostracism embraces everything which shows any hint of mysticism, wonder or superstition. This repression of the "mystic complex" usually fails and produces in consciousness a sort of state of irritation, an obsession, which disturbs clearness of judgement and ends in different symptomatic acts. So the repression of this complex creates by way of overcompensation a hidden antimystical disposition which shows itself not only as hostility and sarcasm towards everything occult, but even in the narrowing of the spiritual horizon, in the irritable mood and in distorted judgements. The existence of an "antimystical complex" in *Dr. Demole* is not to be doubted, for the passage in the letter shows it. But as regards the influence of this repressed complex on the conscious thinking, *Flournoy* believes he finds the evidence for it in the unexpected allusions to phenomena of a religious kind in general and in the citation of the Polish philosopher whom *Dr. Demole* refers to, was one of directed to the objective character which religious people ascribe to their intimate experiences with the aim of discrediting it by contrasting it with the purely subjective genesis of his own "conviction".

Flournoy confesses, however, at the termination of his remarks that he has given in to his own complex: "An observer freed from emotional complexes, that is to say, one absolutely neutral and impartial, free from every latent tendency, from every prejudice, from

every wish and disinclination, is something humanly impossible; he would observe nothing and find nothing." *Flournoy* takes support in the analytic view which demands of every psychologist a self analysis. Thus he has discovered in himself a preference for miraculous phenomena and for hypotheses concerning them. The Polish philosopher whom *Dr. Demole* refers to, was one of *Flournoy's* friends and to see him thus brought into the discussion has been a bit displeasing to *Flournoy*. This detail, *Flournoy* guesses, has stirred him up to such sharp criticism of *Demole's* logic.

These noteworthy glosses of *Flournoy's* in their turn did not remain without opposition on the part of *Demole*. In the next number of the same magazine the young physician published a sharp retort. The double coincidence which *Flournoy* takes as a point of departure does not seem to him of such far reaching significance as that. He asserts that the work of his unconscious had not four whole days at its command but only 48 hours, the interval between the last visit to *Larin* and his death, within which time there were only two short periods, the few moments after waking in the morning which combined the necessary conditions, somnolence and day-dreaming. The intellectual preoccupation with the Paris Congress which was the basis of the "conviction" was in the daytime an altogether different thing than in these moments. During the day *Demole* had to make decisions, to write, to make resolutions, in short to act as a conscious man. The author believed it possible likewise to exclude the hypnagogic phase preceding sleep for he read until late in the night and fell asleep thinking about his reading. Why the thought about the Congress did not come the first morning *Demole* admitted he could not explain satisfactorily. He conjectured, however, that this thought must become stronger as the time of the congress approached. He decisively rejected every connection of this phenomenon with telepathy. In his opinion it was only a question of a psychic causal nexus. The explanation he had given seemed to him so complete that there was no need to have recourse to "suprapyschic" phenomena. *Demole* reported further that he had had occasion to observe several cases of such coincidences as this since his attention had been drawn to them by *Flournoy's* criticism. Even this factor, the frequent occurrence of such connections of prevision and reality, should weaken *Flournoy's* argument.

Well, what is your impression now? I think I have observed that you are inclined to view some of *Flournoy's* objections as justified, but do not acknowledge others to have the same value. I do not know, whether you like I have taken offense at the dragging in of expressions like "the repression of an antimystical complex" and similar things. On the other hand you will perhaps share *Demole's* view as to his experience, that it is a question of a phenomenon that can be explained by psychology alone. There exists in this particular case no necessity to call in the aid of telepathy or of a supernatural force.

The discussion was interesting and contributed to the clarification of several points. Yet I believe that it has not satisfied our expectation that it would lead to the solution of this little problem.

Ladies and Gentlemen: we will attempt with the aid of analytic methods of observation and the technique of interpretation to carry though together this essential problem which has remained unsolved. In so far as we use these methods in a correct way are we best able to show what they may accomplish in the clarification of dark psychic phenomena. What I now present to you as an attempt at analysis of *Demole's* incident starts with the facts as stated by the author and makes use of apparently insignificant but important details from his story to explain the psychogenesis of the event. In doing this we permit ourselves the freedom that every scientific observer grants to another when he makes his own self analysis the subject of his communication, and hope that the author will not take offense at the liberties we take. As the immediate occasion for the origin of the "conviction" we assume it to be, just as *Demole* does, the preoccupation of his thoughts with the approaching Congress. *Demole* had neglected to speak to the professor about this and to tell him his desire regarding it. The wish to get another opportunity to do so makes use of a memory in order to continue the phantasy. The autopsy on *Nicoud* had been such a neglected opportunity. The next patient who seemed about to die was *Larin*. It is possible that on the occasion of the last visit to *Larin* the thought of this was already present in the preconscious of the young physician. From the impression which *Demole* had received at this time of the condition of the patient there was aroused the hope of being able to make his request when the professor autopsied *Larin*. This wishfulfilling character of the "conviction" could be

referred to the quite comprehensible ambition of the young doctor. This desire it was, indeed, which made him think that the visit to the Paris Congress was worth striving for. Hence the young doctor would already have wished that *Larin* might soon die so that he might be able to speak to the professor.

We are thus inclined to recognize the ambition of *Demole* as the impulsive instinctual force which led him to his sudden conviction. You will recall his description, as he awoke, of the moment of day-dreaming and of his sudden conviction that *Larin* had died. The first thought to which his retrospection led him was that of the Paris Congress and the professor whom he would accompany. His further associations led to the autopsy on *Nicoud*. He thought, however; autopsy on *Larin*. In this permutation of thought there is a small but illuminating slip. It shows us that he had presupposed *Larin's* death in his phantasies because the autopsy will afford the missed opportunity to make his request of the professor.

Naturally we do not claim to account for the concurrence of the conviction with the reality which made so strong an impression on *Demole* and which *Flournoy* believed required explanation. In fact to us there appears to be nothing especially puzzling about this. We receive the impression, however, that it was taken by *Demole* as a favorable presage for his secret wishes and was so interpreted. It is as if he had said to himself: since this mysterious conviction has shown itself to be correct so will my other more important wishes be fulfilled. Here is then the place at which we must assume the effect of a secret belief in the omnipotence of his wishes. The feeling of success experienced by *Demole* after he had learned of *Larin's* death certainly does not contradict our assumption. We surmise that it came from the increase of ego feeling, from the confirmation of his omnipotence of thought. This is well grounded if the realization of his presage is taken to be an omen for the fulfillment likewise of all of *Demole's* secret wishes. Naturally in this form it could not become conscious. It would be against *Demole's* moral ideals that the death of another should be the condition for the fulfillment of his ambitions. In consciousness this feeling of success was represented by a great satisfaction that he had experienced so interesting an event and could investigate it psychologically.

Shall we rest content with the results so far attained? Two minor but striking features of *Demole's* story make it possible to

come still closer to insight into the psychogenesis of his conviction.

Demole communicates actually two bits of self observation: his instance of sudden conviction and an error in thinking, reported as an appendix or afterthought to the first phenomenon. At this point I would remind you of the technical rule in interpreting dreams that such afterthoughts usually contain the most important bit of the dream and that their explanation often provides the key to the complete interpretation. The dream acts here exactly like many women: the most important part of their letter is to be found in the postscript. Is it likely that this is the case in *Demole's* experience? You will recall that in this afterthought *Demole* admitted having accused the patient *Latin* unjustly of bed-wetting. In trying to explain this error he drew on external circumstances such as the location in the hospital and would have us believe that only in this way is the interchange comprehensible. But we think that even this sort of interchange is psychologically more deeply based and that such spatial factors only facilitate its coming about but do not cause it. If we have found the motive for such errors, we have perhaps the best prospect for explaining the whole experience. Let us recall also, without laying stress on it, that psychoanalysis assumed an intimate relation between childish enuresis and later ambition. This relationship was referred to in a passage in the "Psychopathology of Everyday Life" which *Demole* had just finished reading the day before his experience.

The other point to which we might hitch the continuation of the analysis had at first escaped my attention. We are indebted to the attentiveness of *Th. Reik* for its discovery and analytic evaluation. He refers to the names which occurred to *Demole* immediately after the mysterious upsurge of his conviction: *Vaschide* — *James* — *Swedenborg* — *Freud*. It is noteworthy that later an omission occurred. After the young doctor had received confirmation of his conviction he describes his feelings: "Then I took a deep breath . . . I felt lucky in view of such an interesting case. *Freud*. . . . *Vaschide*." But even for the more meager selection of these two names, *Reik* believes, there was a decisive motive. What was it?

Reik supplements our preceding analysis by referring us to another point. In the ideas of *Demole* the words *Nicoud* and *Latin* seem to stand in some sort of intimate relation to the words *Vaschide* and *Freud*. An observation of *Flournoy's* in his criticism comes to

our aid in guessing closer to this subterranean connection. Why does the young investigator use, to designate his confusion, the word *pêché*, sin, error? He asks himself, where and how did he psychologically sin. The expression *pecher* is correct if an unconscious evil wish justifies it. Actually such a strong wish does exist. *Demole* wishes the death of *Larin* so that he may speak to the professor and gratify his ambitious wish to accompany him to Paris. But the same ambition may strive for a higher aim also.

Reik's further remarks start with the fact that *Demole* had just finished reading the "Psychopathology of Everyday Life." In *Reik's* opinion there may have been, among other feelings in the young investigator, the ambitious desire to accomplish similar scientific deeds.

The parallel

Nicoud . . . Larin
Vaschide . . . Freud.

becomes clearer in nature if we assume that the two last named investigators have been combined by *Demole* with the two patients into composite persons. The process is sufficiently known to us from our dream interpretations. *Vaschide*, who like *Nicoud* had recently died, becomes unified with *Nicoud* into one person in the unconscious of *Demole*. Perhaps the associative bridge between the two is supported by a similarity in sound : *Demole* was well acquainted with the given name of *Vaschide*, Nicolas the first syllable of which sounds like that of *Nicoud*.

On the basis of this unconscious wish *Freud* becomes, in the same manner, one with *Larin* who is soon to die. But this wish, stirred up by the reading of the "Psychopathology" is directed to the death of the Viennese psychologist who like the earlier *Vaschide* stands in the way of the realization of *Demole's* ambitions. Our surmise is reinforced when we hear what emotions he devotes to the living and the dead patient: *Nicoud* is no longer interesting, he is finished, *Larin*, on the contrary, is interesting because he is going to die. "Le malade pendant sa vie est donc l'object d'une préoccupation, d'un intérêt, il est chargé de l'affect et à l'autopsie il y a une abréaction comme dirait Freud." The *Vaschide* (*Nicoud*) who opposes the ambitions of *Demole* is dead. Now the feeling with which he had been cathexed turns towards *Freud* (*Larin*) : he shall die

also, in order to give free rein to *Demole's* ambition. This unconscious substitution is covered by an actually conscious wish, which has the same motivation in *Demole's* ambition: *Larin* shall die and his autopsy will afford opportunity to speak to the professor about the trip to Paris. The expression "sin" is thus shown not to be completely exaggerated, but is psychically determined by the unconscious death wish of *Demole*.

But what inner connections can have brought two people so different in significance and type as *Freud* and *Vaschide* into such an association for *Demole*? This question can be answered if we think of the four names which arise after the conviction: *Vaschide*, *James*, *Swedenborg*, *Freud*. The bearers of these four names have something in common in so far as they have been concerned—to be sure in quite different ways—with the clarification of psychologically dark phenomena (superstition, omnipotence of thought, telepathy). The last section of the "Psychopathology of Everyday Life" which *Demole* has just finished reading deals with such subjects. When in the continuation of the thoughts stirred up by these four names only the two *Vaschide* and *Freud* are retained, then we may surmise, that these two investigators stand closer to the physician *Dr. Demole* than do the two philosophers.

The attribute "gâteux" which *Demole* had correctly ascribed to *Nicoud* and incorrectly to *Larin* now becomes significant. If our interpretation is justified, then this feature also must add to the explanation. In addition to the real significance of the concept, the figurative must also be considered according to *Reik*. Both patients soiled their beds. *Vaschide* and *Freud*, as composite figures behind which appear *Nicoud* and *Larin*, soil and befoul their science. This then would be a token of passionate opposition to *Freud*. The hostile or disparaging tendency in *Demole* was primarily directed at *Vaschide* and his views on telepathy. Later after the perusal of the "Psychopathology of Everyday Life" this line of feeling and association was erroneously transferred to *Freud* as was the designation "gâteux" to *Larin*. The later correction of his error was certainly related also to the figure hidden behind the poor *Larin*. The impression made by *Freud's* book on *Demole* was not of one piece. *Demole's* attitude to the founder of psychoanalysis must be regarded as ambivalent. He met *Freud's* book with admiration and scorn. *Dr. Demole* struggled against the strong im-

pression made on him by *Freud's* book with the aid of the association "Vaschide" which he fabricated. He, the man educated in exact science fights against *Freud's* investigations by scornfully comparing them to *Vaschide's* telepathic discoveries. Both investigators are "gâteux," they sin against science. The very word "gâteux," however, is frequently used as a circumlocution for a much more bitter disparagement. It relates to the fact that so many inmates of the mad house usually soil their beds. As a French circumlocution the word "gâteux" is equivalent to "demented." That is surely a depreciation of *Vaschide* and *Freud* that was far from *Demole's* conscious intention. But that does not exclude the high probability that this meaning of the word unconsciously fell in with his course of thought.

Let me add to these observations of *Reik's* a few sentences. The discovery of the psychic forces and counter-forces which determined the genesis of the "conviction" in *Dr. Demole* make it apparent that *Flournoy's* hypothesis of an "antimystical disposition" in the young investigator had a certain amount of truth. What from a superficial point of view speaks against this, is first of all *Demole's* concern with *Swedenborg*, *Vaschide* and other investigators who were occupied with extrasensory phenomena, and secondarily a portion of the letter to *Flournoy*. There he says: "Tout petit déjà ce qui touche à l'âme, au mystère religieux, me tourmentait sans cesse." But why "tourmenter" which means "to torment"? He evidently was at pains to defend himself against his antimystical inclinations. As we have seen, he was partially successful.

This early interest in religious and mystical questions and the later overenergetic defense against all mystical hypotheses has visibly influenced the account given by *Demole* of his puzzling experience of conviction. Consider only the way in which he has used the method of analysis. When after the sudden emergence of the conviction, his thoughts reverted to the reading of the "Psychopathology of Everyday Life" his thought was: "Freud . . . unconscious . . . quickly, that I may analyse myself." And he did attempt it but the psychic counter current was too strong so that he remained at the superficial level. He was satisfied with a conception which betrayed the antagonism to the content of the "Psychopathology," since he made use only of factors that psycho-

analysis recognizes as cooperating, not as motivating: such factors as the dreamy state after awakening, the analogies similar to those auxiliary cooperating conditions in slips of speech and mistakes in reading: inattentiveness and associations by sound. He was obliged thus to overlook the deeper psychic motivation and significance of his "hallucination of conviction," the wishful gratification of his ambition. But it was just this which made him picture the elimination of the persons whose existence stood in the way of his secret wishes. *Larin* was the closest and least valued example of this series of "forerunners" whom his ambition by force of omnipotence of thought removed from the path and put on the autopsy table. Behind the poor *Larin* who, as the least shocking, had the honor of representing the others in his consciousness, was hidden the more significant authors whom he shoved aside because he was angered by them, perhaps in addition, his direct superiors and finally as the last member of the series the dreamer himself, in his guilt feeling after recognizing and condemning himself for his ambition.

The experience of *Dr. Demole* has shared with us in his stimulating essay, has now become fairly intelligible with respect to its psychic conditions and motivation. We will close the little analysis with a wish: may the esteemed author believe that the discovery of such secret motives does not disgrace anyone, but that frequently inadequate attempts at explanation are due to their existence.

Postscript.

It has already been said that the foregoing attempt at reconstruction can make no claim to be an exact verbal reproduction of Freud's lecture of November 1913. It is open to the same criticism any attempt of this sort would meet. It would be incorrect, however, to bring against it the reproach that I have foisted on Freud words he did not utter. Rather is it the case that I have here restored words which I had loaned from him (for my essay.) Beyond such considerations of textual criticism it will be, I hope, a pleasure to everyone interested in analysis to see snatched from obscurity and forgetfulness this beautiful analysis which is a jewel of analytic observation of detail and of interpretive technique by Freud. For the future biographer of Freud and the historian of psychoanalysis the restoration of this lecture as a forerunner

of those preserved in the "Introduction" will be of especial value. The comparison of many views expressed here with later ones will be interesting for those who have followed the development of Freudian thought.

After the war Dr. Demole appeared once as a guest at a meeting of the psychoanalytic Society in Vienna through which he was passing on his way to study in Russia. I had the pleasure of presenting him to Professor Freud who with great difficulty recalled his name and the essay. I do not know whether Demole visited Freud. On this occasion the young physician learned for the first time to his surprise that his article in the "Archives de Psychologie" had once been made the subject of an analytic discussion.

In conclusion some remarks of a psychological kind on Freud's interpretation and the history of this lecture: The striking fact that Freud had not observed the parallelism — Nicoud - Latin - - Vaschide - Freud — in Demole's thought processes came about, in my opinion, in this way: that in this parallelism the unconscious death wish against Freud himself came up as a veiled but none the less analytically recognizable expression. The thought of his own death which later had no more terror for him, had hindered his noticing the significant parallel which otherwise certainly would not have escaped him. The notion was far from his mind that Dr. Demole's unconscious ambition was directed at the goal of accomplishing something similar to Freud's work. This relation to himself acted here to disturb the analytic evaluation of this aspect of Demole's experience.

It cannot remain hidden to the analytic reader that certain psychological conditions made just this side of the case accessible to the hearer. Unconscious wishes and ambitious strivings which later came closer to consciousness, similar to those in Dr. Demole's case drew to the attention of the writer of these lines that parallel by which is hidden his own repressed tendency.

I think it likely that the unconscious reference to this thought of his own death decided Freud not to consent when I asked him to publish the lecture himself. On the other hand surely his sensitive feeling of tact worked against his publishing an article in which he stood in the center as the object of unconscious rivalry on the part of another.

The final sentence of the lecture as here reproduced shows in

its choice of words with what understanding he was able to meet the signs of this ambition in others.

When *Freud* insisted that I should make use of his lecture and publish it in the form of an essay he surely wished that the beautiful analytic material should not get lost. That he should put this task just on me*) speaks for the interplay of the unconscious impulses between two people that is so difficult to comprehend. The great man was not blind for the silly and presumptuous unconscious wishes on the part of the twenty-five year old younger man, those wishes which reveal themselves in the particular attention paid to that neglected aspect of the phenomena, but he has smilingly shut his eyes to them. On this occasion as on many others before and since he has given evidence of his benevolence and humanity.

*) It is naturally not possible to clear up what motives were responsible for *Freud's* misspelling of the name of the doctor in his letter to me (*Demolle* instead of *Demole*). Perhaps the guess is justified that *Freud* unconsciously had in mind the Berlin sexologist Dr. *Albert Moll* whose uninformed condemnation had annoyed him.

PSYCHOANALYSIS OF ANTISEMITISM*

by

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Please do not expect too much from me. Antisemitism is a very complicated phenomenon. If one wishes to understand it, sociological, historical and political points of view must be employed as well as the psychological one, and opinions vary very much with regard to the relative significance which psychology has in the understanding of social phenomena. I do not like to estimate it too highly and am of the opinion that we can only throw light on one side of the problem, it is true, a side which would remain quite dark without our help. And so that you may not expect me to explain everything, I will begin by telling you of a discussion which I had with a colleague, who, it appeared to me, over-estimated the value of psychology in such connections which lead us straight to the point.

At that time I had a controversy with certain analysts with regard to their attempts to transfer the knowledge which they had gained by examining the mental conflicts of individual neurotics to socially and historically important mass-psychological phenomena, in too simple a manner. I was of the opinion that one must keep the following differences in mind. The actions of a person are determined from two sides, first by the current influences to which the person is subjected and to which he reacts, and secondly by the instinctual structure which he brings with him and which determines what these reactions will be. This structure for its part consists of biological factors on one side and all the early influences on the other side. A psychological description must therefore describe current experience and structure. But there is one category of phenomena in which one can relatively slight the current experiences, and place all the importance on the structure,—these are the neurotic phenomena. A neurotic is characterised by the fact that he

* A lecture in favour of the David Eden-Memorial-Foundation, read at Prague, Czechoslovakia, April, 1937.

does not react to current experiences in an appropriate way but with a definite pattern of reaction which he developed in his childhood. Therefore analysts who are occupied the whole day with neurotics, tend to underestimate the current experiences and overestimate the structure even when they examine social phenomena. But in the case of the historically important mass-psychological phenomena it is just the other way around. The instinctual structure of human beings has remained relatively unchanged in the course of historical times. It cannot be the chief factor needed to understand the changes within these times. Of importance here is the current and external stimulant which works very differently in different times and communities on the relatively constant structure, and just those current facts which affect whole groups in the same, or in a similar way. The colleague with whom I had this argument considered this point of view to be a betrayal of psychoanalysis. "For example," he said, "let us examine a phenomenon such as antisemitism. Whole masses of people are filled with senseless and contradictory feelings of hatred against a certain race. Logical thinking has lost all power against these emotions, the irrational, the original blind destructive instinct suddenly breaks out against an innocent object. Where in this case is the current factor which can explain this? Is this not an outstanding example to show that only the scientific investigation of the irrational forces in man, the psychoanalysis of the instincts, can explain it?" I retorted with a question: "Is the instinctual structure of the average man in Germany different in 1935 from what it was in 1925?" Surely not. The psychological mass basis for antisemitism, whatever that may be, existed in 1925 too, but antisemitism was not a political force then. If one wishes to understand its rise during these ten years in Germany, one must ask what happened there during these ten years, not about the comparatively unaltered unconscious. It is true, when one knows what happened one can only understand the reaction of the masses if one also understands *what* is reacting, that which is aroused or inhibited or displaced in the structure, and for this one needs psychoanalysis. In order to gain this understanding let us therefore begin at the surface and descend gradually to the depths. The principle thing which changed during those ten years was above all that an antisemitic mass propaganda was started. The effectiveness of this propaganda has been the chief thing which has altered

the attitude of the masses in this respect. But why did the propaganda work? What was present in the masses which made them believe what they were told? The answer that it was mass-suggestion will not suffice, as the problem is: how and why did this suggestion work? It is certain that the first thought is that people are most ready to accept suggestions which bring them some advantage. What advantage does antisemitism bring to the average man? Well, for instance the prospect of obtaining a job which has been taken away from a Jew. We certainly do not want to underestimate this, but one sees at the first glance that such an explanation is not sufficient, that it is too superficial because it is too unspecific. Let us ask in order to get further, what purpose does the spreading of antisemitic propaganda serve? And there we can perhaps learn more from Czarist Russia than from Germany. The protocols of the Wise Men of Zion were forged by the Czarist police, and they know for what purpose they forged them. As a result of the general misery there was a rebellious tendency directed against the ruling powers. If the propaganda succeeds the Jews will be thought to be the cause of the poverty and not the authorities, and the revolutionary tendency will have been redirected against them. The terrible pogroms showed that this intention succeeded. The advantage which antisemitism gave to the average person was different from that of a prospect of a job. They were in a conflict between the rebellious tendency and the respect for authority, in which they had been trained. Antisemitism gave them the means of satisfying both these contradictory tendencies at the same time; the rebellious tendency by destructive actions against defenseless people, and the respectful one by the clear conscience which they had, as these actions had been carried out at the command of the ruling powers. They could believe that their own enemies were also the enemies of the ruling powers.

This, undoubtedly correct but not yet sufficiently deep and specific, theory of antisemitism we will call the "scapegoat theory". As you know, the Jews used to load all their sins on to a goat and then drive it out into the desert in order, themselves, to become pure in this way. In this way the ruling classes load their sins on to the Jews. Before I go on I would like to mention in this connection a good article by Arnold Zweig, which shows how deep this conception of the Jews as scapegoats is anchored in the soul of the

German people.* Zweig analyses a folk-tale by Grimm, the story of "The Jew in the Thorn". In it is told of a man-servant who having been swindled out of his wages, manages to get the money from a Jew, instead of from his master, and the chief point is, he feels himself absolutely in the right in cheating the Jew, because he had served his seven years honestly. Zweig rightly points out that all the features of modern antisemitism are strongly marked in this folk-tale, which is centuries old, dating at least from the time of the Bauernkrieg, 1500. At that time, too, there was a ruling class which needed to deflect mass-displeasure directed against themselves and then, too, apart from this mass-displeasure there was a mass-preparedness to submission, a change in the structure of the masses caused by education. Their conscience worried them when they dared to think of going against the authorities, and they were therefore grateful if they could let out their rage without anything happening to their master, without his being angry, and against an opponent who dared not defend himself.

But we must go on. This explanation is still not specific enough. The next problem, which presents itself, a problem which Zweig also did not neglect, is: Why are the Jews so suitable as displacement-substitutes? Is it just chance that in such a situation an antisemitic propaganda is instituted and not, say, a propaganda against redheads? Surely not. There must be something in the mass-mind which meets antisemitism half way, the Jew must be the "born scapegoat" for their hosts. That he is preferred to the redheads he owes to his history, which shows how often he has proved his worth as a scapegoat.

Why is this role so fatally suitable to him?

The first attempt at answering this question is a rational one. First, the Jew has always been more defenseless than the redhead. Secondly, when the social order, or rather, disorder, produces much misery then he whom this misery affects is seldom in a position to discover its origin, partly because the connections are too complicated and partly because the existing ruling class does everything it can to make the true connections unrecognizable. The point is then to find someone in his surroundings who appears to him to be the cause of his misery. For centuries it has been the Jew, on the one

* Zweig, *Der Jude im Dorn*. Die Weltbühne 1937.

hand as money-lender, on the other hand as dealer, who has appeared to those who were confronted with financial need as the representative of the power of money; quite apart from the circumstance how much Jewish poverty there was at the same time. And then it is a problem in itself what drove the Jews away from the productive trades into commerce. We do not want to underestimate this point either. We must remember that the Armenians, too, who were persecuted by the Turks just as the Jews have been persecuted by the Russians and Germans, were the commercial people among their Turkish hosts. But we cannot free ourselves from the impression that we should not place too much importance on this condition, that it only serves to strengthen other things which come from more unconscious depths, and which we do not yet know. We must also mention that this point of their being the commercial people is not admissible in some cases of social phenomena analogous to antisemitism, for instance the persecution of negroes in America. The American negroes were slaves, and their ostracism is a result of the historical and social troubles which arose around the problems of slavery. But these negroes have another characteristic which makes them suitable as scapegoats: they are black. The Jews have also been viled by the antisemites because of their cultural or physical "racial" peculiarities. They, too, were black, not their skins, but their hair, and are foreign in their customs and habits, in their language, their divine service, and their everyday life which is so interwoven into their divine service. The foreignness they share with the Armenians, negroes and the gipsies, and this must be the secret which made the people believe them to be the wicked evildoers. People who are of the same kind as oneself, and as the ruling powers are, one does not suspect of evil, but people who look different and speak differently and behave so differently, they may be capable of anything.

Here the question of antisemitism begins to leave the field of the psychology of the antisemitic people and to go over to the psychology of the Jews. The obstinacy with which the Jews have resisted assimilation through the ages, although the ghetto system should have been encouragement enough, although other people in a similar position have, during the course of history, repeatedly been absorbed by their hosts — this is a problem the examination of which would lead too far. Let us accept this as a fact. The

Jews retained their peculiarities, and their hosts did not understand them. These peculiarities, however, were remarkable. They came partly from the time when they were an independent state, and partly from later times. Cult and holy literature were from that old past and had an oriental stamp, in their clothes and everyday language they were fixated at quite a different period, they had retained peculiarities of their hosts, which these hosts had themselves long since given up. Their strangeness worked at the same time as something archaic, as something left over from ancient times, which one had oneself overcome, like the gipsies have retained their nomadism among the settled nations.

What does all this mean psychologically? For primitive thinking that which is foreign is always something peculiar. Even today we meet every foreigner in a contradictory, as we say, ambivalent, manner. The essential quality of foreigners is that one does not know them yet, therefore does not know what one can expect from them. Perhaps, it would be as well to be on good terms with them, or perhaps it would be better to make them harmless as quickly as possible. How different it must have been in olden times, when the nations came less frequently into touch with each other, when the cultural peculiarities of each were much more strongly marked. The foreigners might bring advantages through inventions they had made, or be a danger if they were more advanced in the technique of arms. In the ancient world foreigners were "sacer," a peculiar word, which meant both holy and cursed at the same time. The strangeness of the Jews was of a special kind, because of its archaic character which was combined with an indisputable mental superiority in certain spheres, which perhaps was made use of quite often by the commercial Jews to take advantage of the other people. The Jews were clever, and at the same time connected with old primeval powers with which one had, oneself, lost touch. Who knows what one could expect from them, and if the authorities said they were bad, then it was surely so, for one's own poverty was obvious.

Therefore, what could one expect from them? What phantastic evils were they capable of? We can begin here with ritual murder and the poisoning of wells, but must also relate other things. Let us look at any antisemitic literature. We read again and again, the Jews are murderers, are filthy and debauched.

The first question must again be to find the rational part in these accusations. But this cannot be found. The Jew is a merchant and as such may often be a swindler, but the criminal statistics show that Jewish murderers are rarer than those of any other race. The religious laws of the Jews prescribe particular cleanliness, and although the impoverished Jewish towns are undoubtedly very dirty, they are not more and probably less so than the Polish, White Russian and Russian peasant villages; and with regard to sexuality the Jews do not tend to excesses any more than any other nation. The accusations made against the Jews are creations of the peoples' fancy and these we will now investigate in connection with the archaic foreignness which the Jews really possess for other races.

In psychoanalysis we are in the habit of saying: "The patient is always right." What do we mean by this? That even the most senseless neurotic phenomenon has a hidden meaning for those who understand how to read it, that even the maddest obsession of a lunatic contains a bit of truth if it is not taken literally but in its latent meaning, and that in order to find this latent meaning one must take seriously everything, that is said. In reality the Jews are not to a greater extent murderous, dirty or debauched. What can be understood by a latent meaning of the assertion that they are? That murderous, dirty and voluptuous tendencies are really concealed somewhere; the question is, where? That the Jew is in this case, too, a scapegoat, a displacement substitute, and we must search for the real sinner.

As you know, Freud has taught us that everybody struggles all his life with repressed instincts, which continue to exist in the unconscious, and that among these original instincts, murderous tendencies and sexual impulses play the chief part, and just those sexual impulses which are considered objectionable, low and dirty. The lust to kill, love of dirt and low voluptuousness, these are the things which people try carefully to keep hidden in their unconscious. One measure of this striving is to see in others what one does not wish to become conscious of in oneself: projection, which is most marked in certain mental diseases, but is also present in normal people; think of the crusader against homosexuality, who is really fighting against his own repressed homosexual impulses. We believe that the Jew appears to the antisemite as murderous, dirty and debauched so that he should not become aware

of these same tendencies in himself. He sees the Jew as the lust to kill, as the low sexuality in general. We will see later on how this projection is facilitated. But we already understand why riotous impulses are so easily deflected against the Jews. The Jew not only unconsciously represents for the rioters the authorities whom they do not dare to attack, but also their own repressed instincts which they themselves hate and which are forbidden by the authorities against whom they are directed. Antisemitism is indeed a condensation of the most contradictory tendencies: the instinctual rebellion, directed against the authorities and the cruel suppression and punishment of this instinctual rebellion, directed against oneself. The Jew is unconsciously for the antisemite at one and the same time the one against whom he would like to rebel, and the rebellious tendencies inside himself. Now to come back to the question why is a racial minority like the Jews particularly suitable to act as the carrier of such a projection of the forbidden instinctual impulses; this becomes clear because of the already mentioned archaic, and at the same time superior foreignness.

One can put it in one sentence: Ones own unconscious is also foreign. Foreignness is that which the Jews and one's own instincts have in common. At this point I may remind you how Freud explains the phenomenon of that which is "uncanny" psychologically!* The feeling of uncanniness comes over us whenever something which we once believed to be true, later giving up this belief, proves itself to be really true after all. All happenings are uncanny which seem to prove the existence of magical connections in the world, because we once thought magically, and later gave up this way of thinking in favor of the logical one. To the average person a murderer is uncanny, in particular a parricide or a person guilty of incest, because each one of us once felt such impulses and later one repressed them. And the other way round, a person or race which is in any way uncanny, is capable of murder and incest. The Jew with his unintelligible language and ununderstandable God appears uncanny to the non-Jews, not only because they cannot understand him and therefore can imagine all sorts of sins in him, but still more so because they can understand

* Freud: The Uncanny. Coll. papers IV.

him very well somewhere in the depths, because his customs are archaic, that is contain elements which they once had themselves, but later lost. There is also a rational point which helps to strengthen the irrational side. The Jews as a racial minority were oppressed everywhere. It is clear that the ruling people must fear the possible revenge of the oppressed people, in particular where the oppression appears to be unsuccessful, when the oppressed people rise up again and again and, believing themselves to be a chosen people, refuse to give up their peculiarities under any torture. Jehova is considered to be a revengeful God. And there is no doubt, that he is described in many places in the Old Testament as a very revengeful deity. But there is also no doubt that the command "love thy neighbour as thyself" does not come from the Christian religion, but from the Jewish, that the Jewish God also showed many loving and merciful traits. Why have these traits been forgotten by the other races, and why do they imagine Jehova, like the individual Jew in abstract, and the Jewish people, to be malicious and revengeful? And this conception being of an irrational nature is not to be changed by any real experiences with Jews. It is well known that every antisemite knows one Jew who is free of all abominable Jewish qualities, and yet this makes no difference in his antisemitism. There is an anecdote which illustrates this very well in Olsvanger's collection "Rosinkess mit Mandlen" and which I will translate from Yiddish into English.

"Jews and antisemitism. The world cries — antisemites, antisemites, and really, antisemites. But let us see what is the difference between an antisemite and one of our Jews. If you ask a gentile: "Listen, what do you think of the Jews?", he will answer: "Jews, an abominable race, swindlers, criminals." "And what do you think of Todres?" "Ah, Todres is a fine man, he bought hay for me and we got on very well." "And how do you like Schmuel?" "Schmuel is one of the finest men I have ever known." And the gentile will speak in the nicest way about every individual Jew. But try asking a Jew the question: "What do you really think of the Jews?" "Jews are the chosen people, the most perfect nation, an understanding and wise folk." "Now, what do you say to Berl?" "Oh, the dog, there was never such a loathsome man in the world, he bought corn from me for the squire, and swindled me from head to foot." "And how do you like Jizchok?" "The

rascal, the low hound . . .," and so the Jew will speak about every son of Israel."

The endless revengefulness of the wicked Jews is again a projection. The ruling people cannot imagine that the oppressed are not revengeful. They recognize archaic-deep features in their behaviour and they know how revengeful they themselves are at such depths. The rejected instincts and the rejected ancient times come back to them in these incomprehensible people who live as strangers in their midst. That which they had believed was overcome, appears to rise up again and again like a hydra, and they try to cut off its head. At the same time they despise it in the same way as they despise their own disavowed instincts. Contempt and disregard are meant to help them to overcome their fear. They try to refute their fear by proving to themselves how easy it is to attack someone defenseless. But even then this proof does not succeed. With a curious pride, even with arrogance, this defenseless one appears to rise again and again. The fear still exists and therefore they must always despise and humiliate more and more, to refute this fear. But they never succeed.

Apart from all this, there is one thing more which makes the position clearer, the effectiveness of the circumstance that the Jewish peculiarities and culture were centred almost exclusively round a common faith, the Jewish religion.

When the Romans conquered a nation they would erect a temple in Rome to the Gods of the conquered people to be on the safe side. Perhaps this God was powerful, then they would have to fear his revenge for oppressing his people, therefore it was better to be reconciled with him in any case. The revenge of the Gods of the oppressed nation is a dangerous thing.

Now it is a strange thing with the Gods. The religions of all peoples and all times work with the fear which comes from the "uncanny." In the image of God itself, or in the cult, are many "archaic" features, which appear to bring back that which is old and overcome, in order to fill the believers with fear or awe and so keep a hold on them. The Gods have always had not only supernatural, but also underground, animal and instinctual traits which one must fear. One thing seemed to raise their particular wrath, that was to look at them. In the Jewish religion, too, the sight of the Holy of Holies was reserved for the high priest once a

year, and they had to turn away at the Day of Atonement when the priest threw himself on his knees before God. It is the same in other religions. The sight of God, among the primitive people the sight of the king, his representative, means death.

This digression has led us from the point. Therefore, I will not go further into the meaning and genesis of this prohibition of looking. It is sufficient to say that it is universal. And from this prohibition against looking it is only one more step to the idea that God is a terrible, horror-inspiring and ugly sight. And, as is well known, a number of the Gods of primitive races are incredibly ugly. In the higher religions they are concealed allusions of a similar kind, which only the psychoanalyst understands. It is interesting that also the uncanniness of the ugly God is based on his bringing back something which had been overcome: The ugly features of a God are always animal features, and the first incarnation of the dead chief, the great ancestor, who was later made a God, was the totem animal, the totemism preceded religion. This awe inspiring part of the cult, where a dreadful being threatened to show himself, also exercised a strange charm. Today we see a degenerated residue in the shows at fairs. The fairs originated in connection with the worship of God, and were connected with this, like a satyr play with the seriousness of the tragedy, and is still called "Messe" in German, which also means "mass." Here dreadful sights are offered the people which are otherwise forbidden or inaccessible. And what does one see? Rare animals, deformities, criminals in wax, sexual secrets. Perhaps it seems like blasphemy to bring this into connection with the worship of God, but I will tell you of one connection where you will not have this feeling and which will lead us back to antisemitism: At the fair one does not see native but exotic animals; and one does not see native but exotic Gods. This double character of wonder and fear, of highest beauty and terrible ugliness, which belongs to God, condenses itself with the double character of wonder and fear, which belongs to foreigners — both are "sacer" —, in the feelings which one has for strange Gods, and which caused the Romans to erect temples to the conquered Gods. It is unbearable, in the long run, to have contradictory feelings for one and the same object. And in the same way as the fairytale makes it possible for the child to manage the contradictory feelings it has for its mother, in that it intro-

duces two mothers, an entirely good mother, and an entirely wicked stepmother, so that the love and hate felt against the same person is divided between two people, so the perception of a strange God, too, has been used by all people and at all times to divide the love and hate felt for God between two objects: Their own God is only good and beautiful, the strange one only wicked and ugly.

Many religious systems are dualistic, and have a good and a bad principle, an Ahriman and an Ormuzd, apart from a God — a devil. Reik has shown in his book* that the devil is the degenerated strange God, the God of the strange people, of the conquered people, whose revenge is feared. The devil is always more uncanny than God, always has more archaic characters, namely animal qualities, goats feet, horns, tail and ugliness. Therefore, he is always suitable to be a carrier of the projection of ones own instinctual impulses, he is murderous, dirty, debauched, a tempter and a deceiver. It is clear for the antisemite that the Jewish God and so the Jew is the devil, the anti-Christ, the wicked principle directed against God, which crucified God. The devil, too, is characteristically despised and dreaded at the same time. And one thing more: This "degraded" strange God is not only animal and ugly, — he is usually crippled. The deformed, blind, lame and hunchbacked are "sacer" for the primitive people, as beings near to God, as seers, but also as dangerous; they are, altogether, uncanny for the ordinary mortal. An interesting point, which, however, does not belong to our theme, is that on the ordinary man the artist has a similar effect: he, too, has retained a more archaic character. This, he owes chiefly to the fact that he is strange. And in fact, we see that people who have longer noses and darker hair than the others, are therefore regarded by these practically as deformed. What is the rational essence of the special position of deformed people? The deaf, but also hunchbacks and in particular red-haired people are regarded as malicious and ill-natured. Why? Because they are really at a disadvantage compared with healthy people, and because the healthy people tend to despise and laugh at them, and they, therefore, tend to protect themselves by being aggressive themselves. The physically inferior are a "badly-treated minority" and, therefore, their revenge is feared. This fear con-

* Reiks *Der eigene und der fremde Gott*. Wien 1923.

denses itself with the deep feelings of uncanniness which one feels for the devil and the cripple-God, and increases when the physical disadvantage or dissimilarity is combined with superiority in certain mental spheres (one is reminded of the uncanny, skillful, lame blacksmith of the sagas), which is thought to be proof of an alliance with supernatural powers, as magic (particularly when they themselves consider themselves to be a "chosen people").

But the sight of a cripple does not only arouse the fear of strangeness and revenge, but also the special fear that he will want to make one a cripple like himself. It would lead here too far to undertake a psychoanalysis of the burial and death customs of the various peoples. But we know that they all rest on the tendency to prevent an unconsciously feared return of the dead, who could revenge themselves for their dying, by fetching the living and so make them dead, too. Is there any reason to suppose that the people fear the Jews could want to make them Jews, too?

It is often mentioned that *Freud* once expressed the opinion that antisemitism is connected with the Jewish custom of circumcision!* Now: my whole lecture shows that it is not my intention to maintain that antisemitism consists in the uncircumcised despising the circumcised as unmanly, and fearing that the circumcised will want to circumcise them in revenge. The matter is somewhat more complicated and circumcision is only one of many customs which are felt to be uncanny. But I would like to explain what Freud meant by this remark.

Circumcision is not a purely Jewish custom. Many other races have this custom, too, and it is only a problem why the Jews have remained in this respect, as in many others, so conservative. Apart from the oriental peoples, circumcision is practised among many primitive races — a proof for the age-old nature of this custom. Other primitive races do not, it is true, practise circumcision, but have other analogous customs, more or less sanguinary injuries to the genitals, or other parts of the body, which have become substitutes for the genitals. To be sure, such injuries are usually performed on the young people at puberty and not soon after their birth. This is the essence of the so-called "initiation ceremonies" whereby the young people are accepted in the adult

* *Freud*: Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex. Collet. pap.

community. It is certain that this is the older form of the custom, and that in the case of the Jews for some unknown reason this ceremony has been transposed from puberty to infancy. It is not easy to say what is the meaning of such holy practices. Perhaps one can guess it by their effect. The youth who has now become a man will be proud of his initiation into the adult community, and this feeling will be increased by his now being allowed, among other rights, that of sexual intercourse. But the circumstance that he has had to pay a price for this admittance, that he has had to endure pain, shows him drastically and hammers into him that he can only enjoy the protection of this community as long as he obeys its rules, and that he can expect unpleasant things if he does not adhere to certain conditions. And in fact, such and analogous social measures are effective. Even today, we find deep in the unconscious of men the fear that his penis might be cut off if he sinned, a fear, which acts as the chief motor for the suppression of the instincts desired by the patriarchal society.

The drastic reminder of the sanguinary puberty rites of the primitives has been replaced by less drastic measures during the course of history. The Jewish circumcision, although practiced on the infant, is still comparatively drastic. It has remained a real sanguinary operation on the genitals. This knowledge on the part of the uncircumcised people undoubtedly increased the feeling of uncanniness which the Jew gave them. It helped to give a more precise form to the indefinite fear that a retaliation on the part of these curious people is imminent; this retaliation became a sexual one. They will do something to the little girls of other races in the same way they do something sanguinary-sexual to the little boys of their own race. We are of the opinion, therefore, that circumcision which is strange and familiar in unconscious depths, works in the same way as the other customs which make the Jew suitable for a devil-projection.*

We can sum up: The antisemite arrives at his hate of the Jews by a process of displacement, stimulated from without. He sees in the Jew everything which brings him misery, and not only his social oppressor but also his own unconscious instincts,

* This explanation of the reaction of the uncircumcised towards circumcision does not contradict the idea put forward in Freud's new book "Moses and Monotheism" that this custom came to the Jews from Egypt.

which have gained a bloody-dirty-dreadful character from their socially caused repression. He can project them on to the Jew because the actual peculiarities of the Jewish life, the strangeness of their mental culture, the bodily (black) and religious (God of the oppressed peoples) peculiarities and their old customs make them suitable for such a projection. Perhaps there will be one objection to this formula: If it is true that there must be unconscious motives which complement the effectiveness of the antisemitic displacement, and that it is a prerequisite for these unconscious motives that the Jews live as strangers among their hosts, separated, and living in their own cultural circle, then — one could say — this could be valid for the old and even for the Czaristic antisemitism; but is this the case for the modern German antisemitism? Does not this contradict all our theories? Were not the majority of the Berlin Jews without any Jewish connection and tradition a fact, which the Prague and Viennese Jews who are nearer to the East Jews, often used to make fun of, — were they not extensively assimilated, did they not feel themselves as Germans? Where was the archaic foreignness which was said to be the prerequisite for the purpose of projection? — Now, it appears to me that the success of again using the Jews and not the red-haired men as scapegoats (so far as the success really is there, may be that antisemitism does not really have such deep roots in the German people as previously in the Russians, who can judge the quantity?) proves that the foreignness, or at least the memory of it, is still there. Some Jews may not have felt this. But obviously, a large percentage of the Germans did. One cannot completely destroy a tradition and the memory of it in one, or even several generations. Let us look at any modern German antisemitic literature, and we will see that not only aggression and destruction are demanded in the service of the ruling powers and of the good God, that not only have foreigners been shut out by their race theories, but accusations are made against the Jew which make him appear as the representative of their own low, greedy, dirty sexuality. "One often says," it is written in "Mein Kampf," "that the Jews are human, too. But if someone violated your mother, would you then say that he, too, was human?" And the Jew, it is maintained, violates the mother Germany. Streicher's "Stuermer" is filled with rape, castration and murder stories. And if one knows how to

interpret the race-mysticism, one sees how in it the pure ideal is contrasted with the unclean instinct. "Mein Kampf" also terms the spread of syphilis among the Germans as a "judaisation of their soul." And so we have got back to where we began, to an admission of the limitation of the psychological explanation. In order that this displacement, which seems to us psychologically to solve the secret of antisemitism, can take place, there must be in addition to the Jews with their qualities which make them suitable as scapegoats,—the instinct-repressed average man, the wish to destroy, arising from actual misery, which has to be deflected, and the external motive which we termed "stimulant from outside" in our previous formula. The full utilisation of the psychological facts which we have studied so that they become a real and politically effective power is only possible under certain economic and political circumstances. We did not wish to speak about these conditions today. This does not mean that they are of secondary importance. We only need to look at the facts around us, and to consider these facts in the light of the psychological basis of antisemitism, in order to see what this complicated phenomenon, antisemitism, really is, in the present-day world: A weapon in the class-warfare dominating the present civilized world.*

* This paper was written before Freud's book "Der Mann Moses und Die Monotheistische Religion" was published. This book brings new ideas which also throw light on the problems of antisemitism explicitly discussed on pp. 162-165 ff. Freud's hypothesis about the origin of religion affords him a new understanding of a psychological motive of antisemitism, namely that the approach "The Jews have killed our God" really means "the Jews did not *admit* that they have killed God". — This interpretation could be discussed in connection with Freud's whole hypothesis only which cannot be done here. — The accidental motives for the psychology of antisemitism which Freud mentions are partly identical with those discussed by us. However he adds two reasons: (1) The other peoples feel a kind of sibling-rivalry towards the "favored child". (2) The hatred against the Jews is unconsciously partly a hatred against Christianity.

THE DRAGON AND THE HERO

by

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PART ONE — INTRODUCTION

The first paper I published in my pre-psychanalytic period was about the myth of the dragon and the dragonkiller. Since then I have had the curious piece of luck to analyse a case of dragon-phobia. The patient, a lawyer of thirty-five came to be analyzed because of difficulties in his marital life and profession. The first thing he spoke about in his analysis was his peculiar interest in everything that concerned China. He was interested in Chinese art and politics and was liable to fall in love with women who had slanting eyes. China meant to him the Land of the Dragon. The analysis of an obsessional repetition of the name of a town in China revealed phantasies of a severe and haughty lady who would whip him if he did not obey her. His dragon phobia was partly a kind of playing at having a phobia. In some parts of the town where he lived there actually were carved dragons as ornaments on buildings and he either avoided these streets altogether or could only pass the carved dragons with a feeling of dread and sometimes even panic. The play element in the phobia was that he would go to the Museum of Oriental Art just to find out whether he was still afraid of the dragons. In the same Museum there were also various representations of the Hindu goddess Kali or Durga, the woman who kills the giants and dances on them. He looked at these pictures with exactly the same feelings he felt when he saw the dragon. In his dreams and phantasies the dragon occurred both as representative of the mother, of the father and of the "combined parent" concept. The dragon as mother was essentially the swallower, the dragon as father was a serpent as representing the penis in erection. In the group of phantasies that were evolved in connection with the dragon, the mother sometimes appeared as emerging from the inside of the dragon in the shape of faeces

afterward assuming the shape of a beautiful young woman. Or the series of images would start with the mother and in her inside was the dangerous dragon that is the father or one of the men with whom the mother had a love affair. According to a series of phantasies the dragon was the inside, a sort of lining of the mother and when he penetrates into the mother he has to face the dragon and especially the dragons rectum and tail, that is his fathers penis. In his day dreams he is having intercourse with the dragon-mother and at the same time using the penis as a boring weapon, either trying to get into the dragon, or trying to get out. A characteristic feature of these phantasies was that the inside of the dragon or mother was described as being completely smooth and empty and this in connection with the theme of his sibling rivalry. He had scooped everything out of his mother's body, his brother, his father's penis, milk and faeces. A very frequent phantasy image is that of cohabiting with his mother (dragon) from the inside that is, he is an embryo and is opening the way out with his penis. This phantasy is a condensation of his Oedipus wishes and of a body destruction phantasy in which he identifies himself with his brother whom he is trying to pull out of the womb. The origin of his dragon phobia was found in an infantile memory. He had a nurse who took him to the merry-go-round when he was two or three years old. He remembers that on the way to the merry-go-round and also in the building itself there were carved images of dragons. The nurse held him on the merry-go-round and he was stimulated sexually by the rocking. When they came home he played with his penis, showed it to her and said "sweet" which meant that she should taste it. This is connected with a still earlier memory of biting the same nurse's nipple when sucking. The feeling tone of the words "sweet and bitter" is associated with both memories. Analysis reveals that the nurse was regarded as identical with the dragon and that castration anxiety meant the dread of retaliation for oral aggression. The dragon phobia was also responsible for his choice of an analyst for in coming to see me he had to pass by the same merry go round day by day. The influence of the "dragon complex" on his love life was twofold. For one thing he was always in search of a woman with a male character and for another he was afraid of real love which to him meant being devoured by the dragon.

So much by way of an introduction. We shall now attempt to analyze the oldest forms of the dragon myth and then show the process of transformation from these to more complicated narratives.

INDRA AND MARDUK

1. Truly the gods all, the gracious protectors of Heaven and Earth choose thee, Indra the wielder of the thunderbolt, thee alone, O strong and mighty one, to fight against Vrtra.

2. The strength of the gods was waning, they were like the aged. Then thou Indra, whose Mother was Truth, becamest the only ruler. Thou didst strike the Dragon who held the waters, thou didst dig the channel of the rivers that give water to all.

3. With thy thunderbolt thou didst cleave, piercing right through, the unsatiable extended unawakenable, not wakening Dragon from his deep sleep, while he was leaning against the seven rivers.

4. Indra with his might made the depths of the Earth tremble, like the wind that moves the waters and they rise by its might. With his might he conquered the fortress and cleaved the peaks of the mountains.

5. Like women they were delivered of their embryos—it was thou who liberated the enclosed rivers.

6. It was thou who made the enormous river that refreshes us all stand still—the flood of the water. It was thou Indra who made it possible to cross the rivers.

7. He made the girls pregnant, and they exulted like sources that were just breaking through and young and honorable wives who were pining away, he made them pregnant. He satisfied the thirsty fields and meadows. He gave milk to the sterile ones, now they had a husband who could work miracles.

8. And in many springs and falls famed in song, did Indra, the Vrtrakiller, liberate the rivers Indra bored through the channels of water and they poured out for the earth.¹

According to Hillebrandt this means that the moutains are regarded as women and they are delivered of the rivers in the moment when Indra kills Vrtra. The translation and interpretation

1. *Rigveda* IV. ig A. Hillebrandt, *Lieder des Rigveda* 45, 46.

given by Caland and Henry is somewhat different "elles (the rivers) coururent à toi comme des femmes à un nouveau né" that is Indra is a new born child and the rivers are his mothers.¹

That the Vedic singer celebrates the liberation of the rivers is quite clear. He conceives the rivers as having been withheld, and enclosed. He cleaves this enclosure with the thunderbolt and the women are delivered of their embryos—not of children.

The myth describes a dialogue between Indra in the womb and his mother. His mother asks him to be born in the usual way and not to cause her death. But it seems she protests in vain for he tears her to pieces by being born.² We conjecture that his prenatal matricide and his killing of the dragon Vrtra represents the same thing only in one case the infant is viewed by the myth as coming out of the womb, in the other as going into the womb.

Our conjecture that the antagonist of the hero and the mother are the same person is directly corroborated at this point by other variants, some of which at any rate are historically descended from the myth of Indra. Gesser or Dongrub in the Ladakh version of the myth carries on exactly the same dialogue before his birth in his mother's womb with his mother, as with the giant ogre Agu Za who swallows him.³ When he announces his birth in this intra-uterine dialogue in the Mongolian version he tells his mother that the lower part of his body will be that of the Dragon Prince.⁴ Like the gods he wields the lightning and like the dragons he makes thunder.⁵ The words of Indra following the dying mother are, "Yes I will follow her. I will not follow her"⁶ and as if to illustrate this ambivalence the poem goes on to describe how the hero was rejected by the mother, how he was swallowed by the she-demon

1. Hillebrandt, *I.c.* 46. Note 2. See also H. Grassmann, *Rigveda*. 1876. 1. 127.

2. Cf. Hillebrandt, *I.c.*, 43. *Rigveda* IV. 18, 1.

3. A. H. Francke, *Der Frühlings und Wintermythus de Kesarsage (Memoires de la Soc. Finno Ougrienne XV.)* 1902. 5, 19. His mother is delivered of sun and moon first, and the ogre is the being who eats sun and moon (in the eclipse). Several attempts are made to eat the infant and his mother eats him (Cf. p. 6 and 19 as hail) in order to conceive him.

4. J. J. Schmidt, *Die Thaten Bodga Gesser Ohans* 1839, 12.

5. Schmidt, *ibid.* 89. See also E. Krause *Die Trojaburgen Nordeuropas*. 1893. 120, 121. E. L. Von Schroeder *Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda*. 1908. 337.

6. *Rigveda* IV. 18, 3. Hillebrandt, *I. c.* 44.

Kushava and how then he was taken care of by the waters.¹ The mother appears first as herself then as a devouring demon and finally as the life giving current of water.² According to the Mahabherata (III-200) and the (Bhagavatpur VI - 12). Indra is swallowed by Vrtra who is trying to swallow the whole world and comes out either when the monster is induced to yawn (Mahabharata) or cuts his way out of Vrtras stomach (Bhagavatpur).³ In Post-Vedic times myths of Indra were displaced to Vishnu who appears already in the Vedic period as helping Indra in the great battle. In Krishna of course we have the heroic counterpart of Vishnu. In one of the Krishna stories children go into a cave. But the cave is the inside of a serpent. By inflating himself to colossal dimensions Krishna burst the serpent from the inside and all the children come out.⁴ The things that come out of the serpent monster when cleft open from the inside or the outside are the rivers, or embryos, or the children, or the hero himself. Now according to Bergaigne Vrtra the coverer⁵ is the personification of the envelopment (Hölle, *Vavri*) in which the water is contained. Vrtra is the *paridhi* the pregnant one of the waters. "Bref"—says Bergaigne—"le conception de vrtra rappelle celle de la mère, ou mieux puisqu'il s'agit d'un être mâle, celle du père caché."⁶

If Indra appears as piercing through the body of his antagonist, if on the other hand the things that come out of Vrtras body may be either children or embryos or the life giving liquid of rivers and cows, and finally if the dragon monster itself is compared to a woman, either virgin or married or pregnant it seems quite obvious that the hero god Indra represents the body destruc-

1. Cf. Hillebrandt, *I. c.* p. 45. Rigveda IV. 18., and H. Grassmann, *Rigveda* 1876. I. 126. In the Mongolian text we have the child eating episode. *Gesser Chan* 81, 269. The hero rescues his mother's soul from hell and when he calls the Devil to account for having taken his mother's soul to hell, the latter replies, Truly a remarkable case, it would certainly have been illegal if I had arbitrarily condemned your mother's soul to hell but I looked in my magic mirror and there at the time of Gessers birth I could not make out whether his mother is a devil or a Buddha. (Schmidt, *Bogda Gesser Chan* 287.)

2. Cf. also on Tritya Aptva in the water. M. Mueller, *Beiträge zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie*, 1899. II. 227.

3. W. Crooke, *The Legends of Krishna Folklore*, XI - 12. Cf. on Indra and Krishna W. Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, II. 1896. 2 Cf.

4. Cf. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, 139. S. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, 1902. II. 244, 245.

5. Cf. Rigveda VIII. 89, 12. Schroeder, *Herakles und Indra*, Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, LVIII. 1914. 21.

6. Bergaigne, *Religion vedique*, II. 201, III. 33.

tion phantasy of the infant who wishes to cleave or pierce his mother's body and tears out the good objects it contains.

In clinical analysis I have found that body destructions or other phantasies are often followed by anxiety in the shape of a fantasied uterine regression. The victorious Indra becomes a coward. He is weak, forsaken by the gods and bereft of his might he flees to the end of the world and hides in the waters. He hides in a big lotus flower in a huge lake. He has transformed himself into a tiny being in order to do this and there to make the uterine significance of the lotus quite clear, he is found by his wife.¹

The great dragon-killers of Indo-germanic mythology are great drinkers, or at least some of them: Herakles, Thor, and Indra.² Indra moreover is in great haste to drink for he is but one day old when he drinks Soma³ the beverage that makes gods immortal and mortals drunk. It is the youthful mother who "gives him the drink in the house of his great father."

Soma (is made of the)⁴ juice of the creeper *Sarcostemma viminalis* or *Asclepias acida*. The juice is sourish and milky and it is prepared by churning it with milk.⁵ In the Hymns we find the rivers, milk and Soma mentioned together. Indra says "I put the glamour which not even the divine Tvashtar put into them, that which all desire I put it into the udder of the cow, into the drink of drinks, the powerful Soma mixed with milk."⁶ The transitions from milk to intoxicant is here part of actual practice and if we interpret Soma as milk we can understand that Indra receives it when he is a day old from his mother. Besides as Soma is the drink that gives immortality, it is a parallel to the Greek nektar and ambrosia. This is a mixture of honey and milk and as Roscher has shown the food that makes the gods immortal is the first food given to the infant.⁷

Indra's father is Tvashtar, the smith of the gods and the genius of fertility. As he withholds the Soma from his son, Indra

1. Cf. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*. III. 231-233. J. J. Meyer, *Das Weib im altindischen Epos*. 1915. 266, 267, *Mahabharata*, V. 10.

2. L. Von Schroeder. "Herakles und Indra" *Denkschriften der kais. Ak. d. Wiss.* LVIII.

3. Ad Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*. 1886 - 110.

4. A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*. I. 4.

5. A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*. I. 220.

6. Ad. Kuhn, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers*. 140, 141. Rigveda. X. 49, 10.

7. W. H. R. Roscher. *Nektar und Ambrosia*. 6.

hardly born kills his father and gains the life giving fluid.¹ We shall discuss these Oedipus aspects of the hero later on, for the present we are interested rather in the price of the battle. The Gods and the Ashura are fighting for immortality. The way to obtain it is to churn the ocean of milk with the *Mandara* (mountain) as a churn and the serpent *Vasuki* as the rope. After the first thousand years work the heads of the serpent emit the poison *Hala-hala*. This substance is like fire and the gods can only prevent the end of the world by inducing Siva to swallow it. The next thing produced by the churning is Dhanvantari the founder of the art of healing. Then we have various goddesses and jewels, Soma and finally Amrta, a mythical equivalent of Soma.²

Indra (the Greek *andros*) is the typical male who penetrates into his mother's body by using the penis as a weapon and thus obtains the good body contents from the womb of the dragon mother. Another myth also shows that the Soma is again guarded by a dragon-like being. Tvastr had a son Visvarupa who had three heads and six eyes. He had three mouths. With one mouth he drank Soma, with one Sura and the third was for other food. Indra hated him and cut his heads off. Tvastr was angry, "Has he really killed my son?"³ he said.

Now this representative of orality who drinks milk with three mouths is a son of Tvastr like Indra himself and the same Indra who appears in the role of a parricide when he desires Soma is here a fratricide who kills this personification of oral greed. Mythologically this would suggest an ultimate identity of hero and dragon, of the being who fights for and the being who retains the waters. In one myth we find a hint that the new born hero god nearly dies of hunger and in this predicament he eats the entrails of a dog. The infant reacts to frustration by body destruction fantasies and it is these fantasies in which we find the basic unconscious materials of the heroic myth. The loving mother merely by her temporary absence or by the interruption of continuous pleasure becomes an all devouring monster and it is from the inside of this monster that infantile aggression wishes to tear out all good objects milk, the paternal penis, faeces and other children

1. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, 235 Kuhn, *Herabkunft des Feuers*, 110.

2. Ad Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers*, 219. Ramajana I, 45.15 Mahabharata—1097.

3. Hillebrandt *Vedische Mythologie* I, 531.

or embryos. Indra and Visvarupa are both sons of Tvashtar and it is because he has three mouths that Indra kills his brother. Similarly it seems that the dragon is really quite harmless, it is the infant-hero who eats "the mother dragon" and in the projection form represents the mother as the devourer, just as the good objects in the "mother's inside become bad objects," in the projection form of infantile aggression.¹ The main points of the struggle between Indra the Hero and Vrtra the Dragon are brought out by Hillebrandt as follows:

1. Tvashtar makes Vrtra out of the Soma left over by Indra (Food and Dragon are the same thing).

2. Vrtra takes possession of Agni-Soma, of knowledge of Glory and Food (Knowledge and Glory are sublimations of the mother-child situation — knowledge is the milk we drink, glory the love we receive.)

3. Vrtra grows to a huge size.

4. Gods, Mortals, and Ancestors feed him (Food as the Eater — Oral aggression and also growth projected from the infant to the mother.)

5. Indra gains the assistance of Agni, Soma and also Knowledge, Glory, Food.

6. Vrtra is conquered. He was lying like a leather bottle² drained. (The nipple is now flaccid. The hero has emptied it of its content.)

7. Finally a contract according to which Vrtra should serve as food for Indra.³ (The nourishing mother.) It is hardly possible to indicate more clearly the nature of the struggle and the identity of the actors. That destroying Vrtra is really "body destruction" is made quite clear by the Satapatha Brahmana where Vrtra is identified with the belly. Vrtra said:

"Do not hurl thy thunderbolt at me. Thou art now what I was before! Only cut me in twain, but do not let me be annihilated." He (Indra) said "Thou shalt be my food! He accordingly cut him in twain and from that part of him which was of the Soma nature he made the moon, and that which was demoniacal (asura) *he made enter these creatures as their belly*;

1. Cf. above the food of immortality and the poison that comes from the serpents mouth.

2. The contents represented as a fluid, emptied by a drinker.

3. I omitted two paragraphs as irrelevant.

hence people say, Vrtra was then a consumer of food and Vrtra is so now." For even now, whenever that one (The moon) waxes, it fills out the world and these creatures crave for food, they pay tribute to this Vrtra, the belly."¹ The victory is obtained by means of the thunder-weapon, by cleaving the dragon's body. If we compare this to late ritual practice in which the thunder-weapon figures in rites of a phallic nature² and with the churning as a variant of the fire-boring with overt coitus significance,³ and with the lines of the Vedic hymns in which Indra figures as the great god who makes all women pregnant,⁴ we can scarcely avoid the conclusion that in another stratum of the unconscious⁵ the victory is obtained in coitus, and the weapon by which Indra kills his antagonist, the object that is neither dry nor wet, neither stone nor wood, neither weapon nor projectile but froth piled up like a "mountain in the sea" is evidently the semen.⁶

MARDUK AND TIAMAT

In the cuneiform inscriptions we have historically the most ancient representative of the heroic deed. Although it lacks the many variants contained in Vedic poetry and in Post-Vedic literature and legend yet it shows the basic phantasy material of our myth quite distinctly.

This is the Story of Creation.

1. When the sky was not erected above.
2. And on the Earth there was no plant.
3. And the depth of the waters had not broken through their limits.
4. Mummu Tiamat was the Mother of All.

Mummu Tiamat means "sea water" or "sea chaos." Only one god Marduk (or Bel) the god of the morning sun or of spring

1. Eggeling, *The Satapatha Brahmana*, 1882, 166.

2. Blinkenberg, *The Thunderweapon*, 1911, 45.

3. Ad. Kuhn, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers*, 64.

4. Cf. the hymn quoted above. The Etymology of Indra—*andros* (the male) Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, II, 168, and Indra dancing. L. von Schroeder, *Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda*, 1908, p. 37. The liberation of the waters is the first "manly deed" of Indra, 38 R. V. 2, 22, 4.

5. This froth is hurled at Vrtra with the thunderweapon and contains Vishnu. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie* III, 245. The mountain in the sea is the mandara cf. Kuhn *l. c.* 17, 71.

whose body is replete with flames is capable of conquering Tiamat and her following of serpents. He sends a storm into her open jaws catches her inside with his net. Before she can close her jaws he stands in her open mouth and thrusts his spear into her stomach, cuts her heart into pieces and splits her jaw. He cuts her into two pieces separating the two pieces smoothly like the two halves of a fish and one half becomes the vault of the sky.¹ It is significant that the mother, and birth goddess Ishtar, the harlot of heaven, is also described as the "fearful dragon of the great gods."² In the period of the dynasty of Ur the phonetic spelling Ts-he-ra is employed. The name is sometimes written with the sign asar, the ideogram for Marduk, son of Ea. It is significant that the same divinity is also Queen of the Oath.³ She is identified with the constellation Scorpio. It is not probable — Langdon observed that the Babylonians would have identified Ishara with Scorpio unless she had some marine characteristics which appear in the title Tiamat or tamtu a name which originally signified a dragon of the "primeval sea of chaos."⁴ The "cruel goddess of love," the maiden of the "place of begetting," the goddess in the "Temple of the Womb" is also the "Great Serpent Mother," is the "fearful dragon of the great gods."⁵ In the Hebrew version Jahve is the hero god who kills the primeval dragon.

Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the Lord
 Awake as in the days of old, the generations of ancient times
 Art Thou not it, That cut Rahab in pieces?
 That pierced the dragon?
 Art Thou not it which dried up the sea,
 The waters of the great deep
 That made the depth of the sea a way for the redeemed to
 pass over (Isaiah 50, 9, 10)

Jahve kills the Leviathan with his sword (Isaiah 27, 1) the monster's body is pierced "or raped."⁶ At the end of days this

1. Cf. F. Belitzsch, *Babel and Bibel*, 1905. H. H. Schmidt, *Jona*, 1907, 80-87.

2. S. Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 1914, 122, 123.

3. Cf. my paper "The Covenant of Abraham" on body destruction phantasies and "the covenant or oaths" (forthcoming).

4. Langdon, *l. c.* 125-127.

5. Langdon *l. c.* 59, 84, 115, 123.

6. Gesenius, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch ueber das alte Testa-ment*, 1189, 253. Konig, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testa-ment*, 1922, 110.

monster will rise from the ocean and he will be caught by the Angel Gabriel (Talm. Baba Batra 75a). Then the gigantic fish or dragon will be cut into pieces and eaten by the souls of the faithful — just as Vrtra serves as food for Indra. This belief of the souls eating the supernatural fish is represented in one of the Midras in connection with the Jona myth. When Jona was in the fish he told the whale to make haste and swim to the Leviathan as it was his intention to catch the latter with a net and then to celebrate his rescue by eating its flesh in the company of the faithful.¹ The Zohar a compilation of old legends made in the 13th century, regards the Leviathan as the Saviour to come at the end of the World, just like the fish that rescued Jonah, and the inside of Jonah's whale is the "womb of the underworld."² Jewish folklore has still conserved this eating of the fish-dragon up to the present day. The Sabbath should be honoured by eating big fish and the fish meal of Sabbath is in memory of the Leviathan.³ In Christian symbolism Christ is the fish who gives himself as food to the whole world,⁴ and according to the official Mohammedan creed the souls in heaven eat the fish that supports the earth.⁵ And to make matters still clearer the Leviathan eaten by the righteous is a female Leviathan.⁶

II THE HERO IN THE DRAGON

The right way to deal with a dragon or dragon-like monster is to disappear in the dragon's inside, to be swallowed by the serpent. Rain originates as follows according to the Ngatataras: Far in the west lives the great rain chief whose totem is muruntu (dragon, mythical serpent). He takes one of his young men to the sea and throws him into the wide opened jaws of a huge muruntu. For two days he lives in the animal's inside and during this period innumerable shining shells (tatkula) enter the head, body or arms of the young man. These shells come from the

1. J. Scheftelowitz, *Das Fisch Symbol im Judentum und Christentum*. A. R. W. XIV. 6, 7.

2. Scheftelowitz, *l. c.* 10.

3. Scheftelowitz, *l. c.* 19, 20.

4. Scheftelowitz, *l. c.* 14. Dolger, F. I. *Das Fischsymbol in frueh christlicher Zeit*. 1910. I. 120, 143.

5. Scheftelowitz, *l. c.* 38.

6. *Jewish Encyclopedia*. VIII. 38.

snake's body. After two days the rain chief comes to the shore and orders the snake to vomit the young man. If the snake would not do this the young man would eat its flesh from the inside.¹ The rest of the rain making process does not interest us here. But what we do find is a very clear expression of infantile body destruction phantasy in the form of a dragon myth. The primary form of this phantasy is to tear the mother's body open and to extract from it the good contents (milk, father's penis, faeces, embryo). In the account of the initiation of the medicine man² the reversal form of this phantasy is prominent, the supernatural being opens the candidate, takes his inner organs out and then replaces them with another indestructible set. In our variant the anxiety phase (the initiates body is opened) is merely indicated but the fundamental form of the phantasy is quite clear: the child enters the mothers body to tear out or eat good body contents. The Thompson River Indians myth of (A9 is) a typical "body destruction" narrative in the form of a nightmare. Seven women offered a man fishroe, he rejected this and when *they fell asleep* the man killed them all by ripping open their stomachs and then swallowed all their hearts. A boy who had accompanied them was hidden beneath an overturned basket and saw what happened.³ Now he brings seven men who dress as women and they surround and kill the stranger. They cut him up and in his stomach are found all the women's hearts which they replace in their respective places in the women's breasts. Then each woman arose⁴ and said, "I have been long asleep."⁵ The intera-uterine existence appears in the myth as another world.⁶ In the Central Asiatic variants we find that the "good object" cut out of the giants or monsters inside is an "internalized external soul." The hero sees Ker Jutpa with jaws wide open reaching from heaven

1. C. Strehlow, *Die Arandar und Loritjastämme in Central Australien*. 1908. II. 9, 10.

2. Cf. *Origin and Function of Culture*, (forthcoming paper).

3. The boy is the dreamer, the man represents his own body destruction fantasies. Cf. for a similar dream situation in a folk-tale Roheim, *Psycho-Analysis and the Folk-Tale* "Int. Journ. Psu." III. 180-186.

4. The dream material is used from two points of view. The women with retribution anxiety for their own body destruction fantasies (nightmare) and subsequent reparation are the dreamers in the second situation.

5. L. Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians of British Columbia*. 1898. (Mem. Am. F. L. Soc. VI) 79.

6. H. R. Voth, *Traditions of the Hopi*. Field Columbian Museum. Publ. 96. 1905.93.

to earth. He transforms the horse into a crow and himself into horses excrements (faeces as the object in the body) and compels the giant to give the secret away. "Take the fat of my guts and use it as a belt. Then you will find a silver casquet in my inside and there a golden casquet and in there another silver casquet. Take this and throw it into the Lake of Milk." When he cuts the stomach of the Ker Jutpa innumerable people come out.¹ In a Kiwai variant the snake swallowing myth is connected with oral envy² and when Kamakaju after having cut himself out of the fishes belly, comes to the Sun's children, he teaches them to eat cooked food.³ Mutuk (Torres Strait Island) is swallowed by a shark. He rips his way out with a knife and when he comes out he finds that all his hair has fallen off. His sister finds him near a water hole and gives him meat.⁴ The sister who adopts her brother, feeds him and makes him grow up again, confirms the intra-uterine interpretation of this sojourn in the inside of the animal. In a Maidu myth the Frog swallows the heros wife and when overcome by the heat the Frog dies, the hero rips the body of the Frog-woman open with his knife and he finds his real wife inside.⁵ In the analysis of the dragon phobia the patient often had the phantasy that the inside of the dragon was a beautiful woman who would come out of the dragon and then be his wife. In a Korjak myth Creator goes into his wifes anus lives there as in a house and comes out bald-headed,⁶ a feature of the myth which has been interpreted as indicating the birth significance of the motif.⁷ In a Kamtschedal version the hero-god goes astray in his wife's vulva and attempts to eat her liver.⁸ Again if we examine the prolific group of myths with Maui as their hero we find good reason to assume this original identity of dragon and mother or

1. Radloff, *Proben der Volkslitteratur der Tuerkischen Stämme Sæd Sibiriens*. 1866. I. p. 43. Cf. ibid p. 66, p. f5.

2. G. Ladtmann, *The Folk Tales of the Kiwai Papkans* Acta Soc., Scientiarum Fennic Tomus XLVIII. 1917. 465.

3. R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*. 1891. 365, 366.

4. A. C. Haddon, *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*. 1904. V. V. 89, 90.

5. Dixon, "Maidu Myths." *Bull. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.* 1902. XVII. 97.

6. Jochelson, "The Korjak." *Jesup North Pacific Expedition*. Vol. VI. 169.

7. Simpson, *The Jonah Legend*. 1899. 105. H. Schmidt, *Jona*. 1907. 178. J. Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokee*. XIX. Annual Report. 320, 321.

8. Jochelson, *I c.* 341. Cf. Notes 377.

at any rate of the ancestress as the antagonist who is killed from the inside.¹

The Jonah group of myths shows their derivation from body destruction phantasies.

a. The hero kills the dragon from the inside. (After birth Boy enters into a huge water monster with his brother and cuts his way out of the monster. His brother is cut out of his mother's womb by his double headed father.)²

b. The struggle contains the motive of the heart cut out, of hunger or oral envy.

c. Body destruction phantasies involve the cutting the siblings out of the mother.

In the Kwakiutl version of the Raven myth Raven is trying to obtain drinking water for the world at large (i.e. milk). But the water is in keeping of Virgin (mother) and after having identified it by Raven as a trick with his own excrements (body contents), Raven obtains water for the world. He goes with his brothers to make war on the Southeast Wind. They enter Southeast Wind through the anus and make a fire in his belly. After having conquered the monster by striking at his inside and by the fire they effect a compromise with him, the result of which is that winter shall come into the world and that future people may sometimes be hungry.³ If we re-translate this into the original phantasy-text we should say "The infant is hungry (thirsty) and in its rage desires to devour everything in its mother's body including its siblings." In another Kwakiutl myth the hero sees a

1. We shall discuss this group of myths, in connection with the motive of the brothers.

2. G. A. Dorsey, *The Mythology of the Wichita*, 1904, 91, 101.

3. F. Boas, *Kwakiutl Tales*, Columbia Univ. Contributions, Vol. II, 1910.22 f. 229. An infant falls into the sea is drawn out of the water by the chief's daughter. The infant refuses to drink milk and grows up in a day. It goes on refusing food of all kinds; the only thing it will eat is the stomach of the sea-fish cut out for him by his grandfather. Finally the Raven, that is the infant devours all the food in the village. Then the Raven meets various animals, adopts them as his mothers and eats all their food. Then the Raven followed by the mink as a kind of little brother goes into the whales inside to be ferried over the water. He pinches the Mink and when it squeals tells the Whale that the little child is hungry and obtains permission to cut flesh out of the Whales inside. Cf. I. R. Swanton, *Thlingit Myths and Texts*, Bureau of Am. Ethno. Bull. 39.1909.91. (F. Boas *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas* 1895, 171.) Instead of "Raven refuses the milk" we should read Raven does not get milk and then follows the body destruction phantasy as described above. On the Raven as representing body destruction cf. "Raven acquired an insatiable appetite by eating some dead skin from his own breast." I. R. Swanton, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, Jesup North Pacific Exp. Vol. V, 1905.182.

village where there is no smoke. There was only one house with smoke and only one child sitting in it. The child is afraid to drink. If it drinks all the water will be gone. All the other children have been eaten by the sea monster. Then he lets himself be swallowed by the sea monster. He wears the back of the double headed serpent as a belt. Inside he said "Snake in belly, snake in belly, snake in belly." Then the monster began to vomit. The child that had been dead came out among its tribe. Then he picked up the bones and put them together. They were all together.¹ Eating children and withdrawing the fluid (nipple) are closely inter-related. In clinical analysis I could observe how the mother becomes an ogress merely through frustration. The child is weaned or siblings are born and it does not get the nipple. In the phantasy world this means that the mother eats the food herself and then the next step is that she devours the child. Hero and child go into the inside of the monster and they restore all those who have been swallowed previously to life. The first step in the transformation of unconscious material is projection: it is not the child who wants to kill the monster by descending into its belly but the monster or dragon who swallows children.² The second stage is the substitution of a reparation phantasy for the original body destruction.

Instead of saying that the hero "wishes to cut all his brothers out of the dragon mother's body and kill them" the hero appears in the story as the life giver; all those who have been killed by the dragon live again (Frobenius "Allausschlüpfen"). The Maidu variant of the "Sun God is the inside of the Fish" approximates the original phantasy.

Sun thought she could kill and steal all the people and that she would live forever. She stole the Frog's three children. Then she is swallowed by the Frog. The Frog begins to feel something swelling inside and she thinks "If Sun keeps on growing larger and larger and in this way conquers me there will be people in this

1. F. Boas, *Kwakiutl Tales*, 1910, 201.

2. In many variants, however, as in the one just quoted, we have the original form. The descent into the belly is an attack on the dragon. On variants of the "sucking monster" theme see R. H. Lowie, *The Test Theme in North American Mythology*. Journ. Am. Folk-lore XXI, 142, 143.

world who steal."¹ Finally the Sun burst Frog in two and killed her.²

Maui the great solar hero of Polynesia also tries to kill his ancestress from the inside. Maui is told by his father of his impending death, through his ancestress Hine Nui Te Po (Great Mother Night). "Her eyes, which you see flashing yonder are dark as greenstone, her teeth are sharp as obsidian, her mouth is like that of the barracouta, the hair of her head like the kelp of the sea, the body only is in human form."

Maui now finds companions in the shape of various little birds and they start off to Hine Nui Te Po's house. He enters through her vagina and if he can pass through her mouth and escape man will be immortal. He enters head first, one of the little birds laughs and wakes the old woman just as the chest of Maui was entering her throat. She shut her mouth with a snap and cut him in two.³ This is how death came into the world and hence the proverb Maui may procreate but Hine Nui Te Po strangles his offspring.⁴ Hine Nui Te Po shows only vestiges of a piscine or reptilian shape but Maui is cut out of a fish soon after his birth. His mother put him into a lock of her hair and threw him into the sea. In the midst of sea grass he was swallowed by a fish and the fish was washed ashore by the waves. Flies and birds sucked and picked at the fish till Tama Nui Ki Te Rangi (The Great Father of Heaven), cut Maui out of the fish's body.⁵ The next step by which the myth explains itself is another version of the Maui and Hine Nui Te Po story. Maus bird companions are his brothers in accordance with the well-known interpretation of small animals in the dream of myth as the brothers of the hero. He goes fishing with his brothers, and uses his own jaw as a bait. The fish he pulled up was the island Ao-tea-roa and it came up with all its inhabitants. On the island he met a woman called Nine Nui Te Po whose lips were damp. Maui began to eat her commencing at her feet. He had eaten her body and was eating her throat when the old woman started up and the brothers of

1. Theft and body destruction!

2. R. B. Dixon. *Maidu Myths*. Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Vol. XVII. 1902. 77, 78.

3. White, *Ancient History of the Maori*. I. 106.

4. White, *Ancient History of the Maori*. 1887. II. 107. Cf. ibid. 112, 114.

5. E. Schirren. *Die Wandersagen der Neusee länder und der Maui-Mytos*. 1856. 29.

Maui laughed and she shut her lips and caught Maui.¹ Now the attitude of the myth is not always consistent. Sometimes Maui is the hero who dies for the cause of mankind in other cases however he is a mischievous being whose destructive power is feared by all. When he has gone to fish with his brothers and he is pulling his giant fish up, they say "now he has taken us out to the sea so that we would be killed and swallowed by a fish." When Maus fish comes up it is a part of Papa-tu-a-nuku (Great Mother Earth) and now the brothers proceed to do exactly the same thing with the fish that Maui does to the ancestress. They eat their way into the fish's body.²

We have suggested above that the hero who rescues his brothers or human beings in general from the dragon's inside is really the child who wants to cut his siblings out of his mother's body and destroy them. The original form of the Maui-myth would then be that Maui tries to cut all his little brothers out of his mother's body and destroy them and if he had not failed mankind would have become extinct. In this conjecture of Maus aggression against his mothers body and his brothers we are confirmed by direct mythological evidence, as the antagonism between Maui and his brothers is often mentioned. On the other hand Maui the youngest, the afterbirth, is the typical rejected child.³ If our explanation is correct we should regard this rejection as the projection of Maus own hostility and Maui far from being the oppressed youngest child is really the eldest who is trying to prevent his younger rivals in being born.

Maui went to his ancestress Mahu-i-ka (Heat that blazed) for fire.⁴ First he takes her thumb which contains fire. Then he successively takes out all her fingers and all her toes in his quest for fire⁵ and when he had obtained all her fingers and all her toes from her feet excepting one — the little toe on one foot — she

1. White, *Ancient History of the Maori*, II. 84.

2. G. Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, 1855. 37-55. See also W. W. Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, 1876. 72. For another variant which is a combination of Maui as a fisher and Maui swallowed by a fish, see G. Grey, *Polynesian Mythology* 1855. 209. See also E. Schirren, *Wandersagen*, 113.

3. Cf. White, *Ancient History of the Maori*, II. 64, 65.

4. In another version Mahu-ika (The heat that burnt) is Maus mother. White, *Ancient History*, II. fl.

5. White, *Ancient History of the Maori*, II. 68.

begins to think "Perhaps this is the man about whom so much is said in the sky."¹ If we regard the two trips of Maui the one to his ancestress in whose keeping fire is and the other who is the guardian of life as representing the same thing we may conjecture that just as the little birds represent the brothers in the origin of death cycle, the fingers and toes stand for the same thing in the fire origin-myth. The fingers of Muri-ranga whenua are unborn children torn out of the womb.

If we regard the myth as based on the body destruction phantasies of the infant we can explain heroes like Indra who cleave the dragon's body and obtain the "good objects" contained therein. But we are now discussing myths of the Jonah type in which the hero is sometimes passive, transforming the dragon into an active swallower and in which he kills the dragon from the inside and emerges with a bald head. The probability that this latter motive refers to the hairlessness of the new-born is very great. The whale who swallows boats first swallows Kwotiaht's mother and then Kwotiaht himself with his brothers goes in to revenge her (Nootka). The hero cuts the animals intestines and comes out with a bald head. There were no intestines before this. They were first made out of the intestines of the whale.² We must therefore assume that the myth uses several *formulae* to obscure the latent phantasy contents. The first negation is that the child is not trying to destroy the mother, it is the mother or dragon who is devouring the child. The next move is this, the child is not trying to cut the unborn siblings out of the mother's womb, it is rescuing those who have been previously swallowed by the dragon and finally the hero identifies himself with the dangerous rival with the infant brother about to be born and takes the place of the infant in the womb to re-appear as the new-born. The Chilcotin myth of Little Dog shows this quite clearly. A giant elk who obstructs the river (retention of fluid) swallows Little Dog. He cuts the elk's heart and makes fire in his inside which is what heroes of this type usually do. But when he has cut himself out of the animal's belly he teaches the women how to give birth

1. Idem, *ibid.* II. 83, 104.

2. F. Boas. *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas.* 1895, 101. Cf. also *ibid.* 3. 51, (children come out of the whale without hair on their head) 74.

because prior to this all children were cut out of their mother's womb.¹

The inside of the dragon is the storehouse of "good body contents." In the Vedic hymns, women and embryos, rivers and cows come out of Vrtras inside. In a Pawnee myth we find Spider Women in the role of the Dragon. A young man lives in a lodge apart from the others. This young man always has plenty of meat and he feeds snakes in his lodge. He lets the buffalo out of a cave but Witch Woman who wishes to retain them in the cave challenges him to a contest. Witch Woman waves her robe; there is the picture of the morning star on it. "I know you. You are the Morning Star" she says. Then the young man shoots his arrow at the robe and one after the other the pictures of the new moon, the quarter, the three quarter and the full moon appear. He shoots at the full moon, it falls on the ground and turns into a spider. The spider appears in the heavens as the moon. The old woman falls down and dies. The young man releases all the animals from the caves and the snakes from the den. "From that time on the people multiplied and had plenty to eat. They were saved from starvation by this young man and because the spider woman was killed the woman gave birth."² All good things and human beings come out of the cave-womb of the bad mother. Indian Nagas are guardians of treasures, they have the "jewel of luck" which grants all desires.³ In the Konkan all underground treasures are guarded by hairy serpents or frogs.⁴ China abounds in phantasies of this kind. Two dragons are represented in the act of swallowing a red ball which the Chinese themselves interpret as the moon or a moon pearl.⁵ According to Chwang tsze "a pearl of a thousand pieces of gold is certainly to be found in a pool of nine layers under the throat of a li-hung or horse-dragon." That the dragon is playing with the pearls in the shape of a little child makes the myth only more significant. Dragon bones, placentae, foetuses,

1. L. Farrand "Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians." *Jesup North Pacific Expedition*. II. 1900. F - 13. L. Teit, "Traditions of the Thompson River Indians of Brit." *Columbia*. 1898. 48. G. A. Dorsey. *Mythology of the Wichita*. 1904. 130-149.

2. G. H. Dorsey. *The Pawnee*. *Mythology*. I. 1906. 43, 44.

3. De Visser. *Dragon*. 9.

4. W. Crooke. *Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*. 1896. I. 287. II. 134.

5. M. W. de Visser, *The Dragon in China and Japan*. *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Ak. van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam*. Afdeeling Letter kunde. Nieuwe Reeks. Deel XIII. No. 2. 107, 108.

liver, blood, fat, spittle all figure as "good objects" in Chinese Medicine.¹ In European saga the dragon is often associated with the treasure. It is the essence of the dragon to be the keeper or retainer or withholdier of something — the water, a treasure and so on.² The golden key to the treasure is in the dragon's mouth and a child must take it out with his teeth.³ The teeth open the way to the valuable "body contents." The young man must kiss the girl in the shape of a dragon or toad to get the key to the treasure.⁴ The beautiful virgin who tells the shepherd boy to jump right into the open jaws of the horrible dragon in search of the treasure is of course identical with the dragon.⁵ The dragon drinks milk with the child and gives the child the golden key to the treasure.⁶ The treasure is a golden cradle full of coins.⁷ And finally if we consider the stories in which a mother goes to get the treasure in the cave with her hungry child and then after having obtained the gold forgets the child in the cave,⁸ the "body contents" significance of the treasure becomes perfectly clear.

Indra and other dragon slayers are great drinkers and we have interpreted this as meaning that the voracious and greedy nature of the dragon is really projected in the myth from the child hero to the dragon mother. At Aurora a woman and her child find a snake. They feed it and it became very large and ate up all the people in the place. But now the transition is effected in the myth as the child snake becomes a mother snake. One pregnant woman survives and brings forth twins. The snake is also pregnant has very many young ones but two of these are chiefs. And now the two human sons kill the snake-mother and her two sons.⁹ The saga of Ragnas Lodbrok and some other variants contain this motive of "the growth of the serpent."¹⁰ In Hungarian folklore we find clear evidence for the assumed

1. M. W. de Visser, loc. cit. 88-98.

2. Bertsch, *Weltauschaung, Volksage und Volksbrauch*. 1910.

3. Bertsch, *I. c.* 179.

4. Bertsch, *I. c.* 179, 180.

5. I. V. Zingerle, *Sagen aus Tirol*. 1891. 319.

6. Zingerle, *I. c.* 324.

7. Bertsch, *I. c.* 174.

8. R. Kuhnau, *Schlesische Sagen*. 1911. III. 559, 605, 622, 669 et pa.

9. R. T. Codrington, *The Melanesians*. 1891. 403. Cf. H. M. Converse, *Myths and Legends of the New York State Iroquois*. New-York Mus. Bull. 125. 1908. 112. K. Th. Preuss, *Religion und Mythologie der Uitoto*. I. 219.

10. F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*. 1879. 65. Frobenius, *Zeitalter des Sonnengottes*. 1904. 99. 100 Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*. III. 63.

basis of the dragon's voracity in infantile oral aggression. The taltos (shaman) is born with teeth and sees treasures in the earth.¹ The main thing a taltos seems to do is to fight with other taltos. They are always asking for milk or for something made of milk (cheese, butter-milk, cream). They recognize the milk of any special cow and suck the milk out of the cow's udder. They are terribly strong and if they were not always fighting against each other they would flood the whole world. In one of their fights a male taltos wounded a female on the left nipple. The taltos is terribly strong. He is born with 3 or 4 rows of teeth and is not weaned until his seventh year. After this the fighting begins. If he does not get the milk he asks for he swings himself on a dragon, flies up into the clouds on his dragon horse and down comes a terrific thunderstorm with rain or hail.² If we take the dragon and his rider as representatives of the same unconscious concept³ we see clearly how the oral frustration is the basis of aggression in these myths.

III. PERSEUS

The typical incident of primitive myth with the Jonah motive of the hero in the dragon's inside decreases in frequency in European myth and folklore. It is never wholly absent, its fundamental psychological importance is shown by the survivals of the original material in more complicated texts. We shall now attempt to get just a bird's eye view of the transformation of the original theme. In this case the transformation is not only in the secondary elaboration, that is in share of the Ego in the development of the myth. This is one part of the process of course. It results in the

1. On seeing into the inside of things Cf., Schonberger, "A dream of Descartes." *Int. Journ. of Psychoanalysis*, XX, 72.

2. In his dragon riding capacity the Taltos is sometimes called "garaboncias" a name derived from the Medieval nigro-mantia. For the data given above see Roheim, *Magyar Nep hit es Nepszokasok*, 1925, 7-35. Since the publication of my book see also Hollós, *A garaboncias diák alakja a magyar nephithen*. Ethnographia XLV, 1934, 30 Szucs, *Taltosok és boszorkányok a Nagysarrettől* Ethnographia, XLVII, 1936, 40, 41. Lubg, *Taltosokról és lidecsek ról*. Ethnographia, XXXIX, 1928, 117, 118. Fazekas, *A lidec és a taltos a szálonkai nephithen*. Ethnographia, 1926, XXXVII, 88. Some of the functions of the garaboncias are of foreign origin but the dragon-riding as cause of a thunder storm is probably one of the original Asiatic beliefs. Cf. on *sea* riding on dragons M. de Viser, *The Dragon in China and Japan*, 1913, 146.

3. In Gocsej a girl born with teeth becomes a dragon, not a taltos Gonczi, Gocsej, 1914, 173.

increasing elaboration of the narrative; the story is longer, there is more art in it, and it is not so easy to recognize the original phantasy material. The other factor of transformation is in the Id. The phantasy content "grows up" through a gradual genitalisation which overlaps body destruction phantasy material.

Two folk-tale types are more like the primitive Jonah myths both in their setting and in their literary style. By setting I mean the general tone of the narrative which is distinctly infantile. The story is about ordinary animals and mothers and grandmothers not about heroes and dragons. Children are at home waiting for their mother who has left in search of food; a bad mother returns instead of the real one and swallows some of the children but they are rescued from the animal's insides.

An old she-goat had seven "kids and she loved them the way a mother loved her children." She goes to the forest to fetch food for her kids and the wolf comes to visit them in the guise of their mother. Having imitated their mother's voice and hands the wolf gets in and eats them all excepting the youngest one who manages to hide in the big clock.¹ In a Lorraine version this episode is repeated and whenever their mother leaves them in search of food the kids are visited by the wolf who eats some of them.² In a Roumanian version the she-goat tells her children what she will say as a pass-word so that they should let her in. It is all about the good things she is going to give them to eat. She has milk in the breast and cheese on her lips.³ In the Lorraine version the mother is preparing a cake boiled in milk when the wolf falls in through the chimney and is scalded to death.⁴

What happens when the goat mother comes home? The youngest who was hidden in the clock tells her that the wolf has eaten all the little kids excepting herself. They go for a walk together and find the wolf snoring. The goat brings scissors, a needle and thread. She cuts all her children out of the monsters stomach and fills it up with stones instead. When the wolf feels the weight in his stomach and goes for a drink the stone drags

1. Grimm, *Kinder und Haus märchen*, No. 5. (with notes in Bolte-Polivka *Armerkungen zu den Kinder und Hausemärchen*).

2. E. Cosquin. *Contes Populaires de Lorraine* II. 8887. 246. (No. 66).

3. Staufe "Romanische Märchen aus der Bukowina" Z. f. deutsche Mythologie I. 470.

4. Cosquin, *l. c.* II. 248.

him down and he is drowned. Evidently the narrative has something to do with the oral trauma. An absent nipple is a wicked child eating mother and whenever the she-goat is not at home "the wolf is at the door." The youngest kid is probably the oldest and instead of wishing to rescue all the other kids swallowed by the wicked wolf-mother it really wishes to cut them out of its mother's body. As the wolf has become a wolf by not nursing its children it dies in the attempt to assuage its thirst. In a Highland version the oral trauma is suffered by the mother. The fox after having eaten the kids, lets the goat into his house, eats up a cauldron of food and gives her none but makes her scratch his paunch. The goat rips him up, out come the kids and they go home.¹ A somewhat different Russian tale shows clearly how the refusal of food transforms the mother into a ravenous witch.

Ivashko, the son of an old couple goes out *fish*ing. A witch calls him with his mother's voice and when he goes to her she takes *his* fish and carries him home. She tells her daughter to cook him in the oven and goes away. He persuades the witch's daughter to sit on the shovel and pushes her into the oven. The witch eats her own daughter. She gnaws at the oak on which Ivashko is sitting with iron teeth and gnaws off one oak after the other. Ivashko sings

Oh, my swans and geese
Take me on your pinions
Bear me to my father and my mother
To the cottage of my father and my mother
There to eat and drink and live in comfort.

The swans and geese took him home and dropped him in the upper room. Early next morning his mother set to work to bake pancakes and suddenly she thought "where is my Ivashko?" When she has finished the pancakes she says "Now then old man let's divide the cakes." "There for you, father! There's for me! There's for you, father! There's for me"² "And none for me?" called out Ivashko.

The end of the story is really the beginning. Ivashko is frus-

1. L. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, 1892, III, 105.
2. W. R. S. Ralston, *Russian Folk-Tales*, 1873, 163-168.

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trated.¹ The mother becomes a terrible child-eating witch through the projection of Ivashko's own oral aggression.

In many variants of the theme the wolf is killed when it falls down the chimney into the house. I suspect that what falls down through the chimney is not the mother but the child and that the wolf is killed not when it falls through the chimney but because of the falling down through the chimney, that is because of the elder child's rage at having to share its place with a sibling. The end of the story of the three little pigs contains a curious corroboration of these views. The wolf falls into the pot, the little pig puts the cover on and boils him. He boiled him and ate him for supper and lived happily ever afterwards.² And hereby the honour and innocence of the wolf is vindicated, it is the little pig that wanted to eat the mother-wolf all along. Little Red Riding Hood goes to her grandmother. She is carrying cake and wine. Persuaded by the wolf she strays from the path and picks flowers. The wolf comes first, goes in as Little Red Riding Hood and swallows the grandmother. Then when the little girl comes he acts the role of the grandmother and swallows the little girl. Subsequently they are both cut out of the wolf and the wolf's inside is again filled with stones;³ but the point is that Little Red Riding Hood (as Wolf) eats the grandmother first⁴ and is then eaten by the grandmother-wolf in the phase of talio-anxiety.

We shall now attempt an analysis of more complicated narratives of the dragon-killer type. The Beowulf Saga or the Story of the Bears Son is one of the epical "Märchen" types with a plot and a succession of motives. Here we find the characteristic "oral" episode at the end of the narrative.

The hero, son or adopted son of a bear, follows a dragon or monster who has stolen the king's apples, princesses or the hero's mother to the Underworld. After having accomplished his task he is trying to find the way back to this world. The hero of a Tshuash story finds a nest on a crossroad with little griffons in it. "Our mother has left us" they tell him, because she is afraid

1. The beginning is the same thing again. Ivashko leaves home in search of fish, i. e. mother has left him, he is hungry.

2. T. Jacobs, *English Fairy Tales*, 1907. I.

3. Cf. Bolte Polivka, *Kinder und Hausmärchen*, No. 26. A. H. Wratislav, *Sixty Folk Tales*, 1889, 97.

4. The "delay in bringing the food" on the other hand is displaced from grandmother to little girl.

of the three headed serpent." The hero makes a wall of grass-sod round the net and hides in the net with the young animals. The snake thinks there is nothing there and goes away. The mother-bird now undertakes to show her gratitude by carrying the hero to the Upper World. But she needs forty barrels of meat and forty barrels of water. She carries him and whenever she looks towards the water he gives her water when she looks towards the meat, he gives her meat. They have nearly reached their goal, but there is no more meat. The mother-bird threatens the hero. "I'm hungry, I'll throw you down." He gives her meat that he cuts from the calf of his leg. When she is told what meat it was she vomits it, puts it back to its place and heals the wound.¹ In a Russian version the bird is the eagle of the Baba Jaga.² In another version the Baba Jaga takes the place usually assigned to the dragon and the motive of the eagle ascent is missing. What we find instead is seemingly meaningless; the hero rummages about in the treasure of the Baba Jaga whom he has just killed, and finds some food in it.³ In a Greek variant the bird mistakes the hero, who has just rescued the young ones, for the aggressor and wants to kill him.⁴ The hero sees the nest with the little birds; they are very hungry and he gives them some food. Then they show him the way to the beautiful girl with the necklace of golden apples.⁵ In a Hungarian version when the hero tells the bird that he cut the last bit from his own flesh, the bird replies "if I had known human flesh tastes so sweet I should have eaten you up."⁶ In a Bulgarian Märchen St. George after having killed the Lamia who takes the place of the dragon in this story, comes to the nest of a huge bird. The little birds were speaking in the nest. This bird could never breed because as soon as the little birds came out of the egg the serpent ate them. St. George kills the serpent but when the mother bird returns and sees the stranger she thinks this is the being who kills her children and is about to kill him. Then the little ones tell her that this is their rescuer.⁷ In one version the

1. Meszaros, *Csuvas nepkoltesi gyujtemeny*, II, 376.

2. Afanajew Meyer *Russische Volksmärchen*, 1906, I, 123.

3. Afanajew Meyer, I, c, I, 170.

4. J. G. von Hahn, *Griechische und althellenische Märchen*, 1864, II, No. 70.

5. B. Ilg. *Maltesische Märchen und Schänke* 1906, I, 43.

6. Rona-Sklarek, *Ungarische Volksmärchen*, 1909, 197m (No. 16)

7. A. Leskien, *Balkanmärchen*, 1915, Märchen der Weltliteratur, No. 18.

hero hides among the young eagles.¹ This is our first clue — the young eagles are his brothers. The second conclusion then is that the mother bird is the hero's mother.² From this it seems to follow that she is carrying him while the feeding motive follows the usual projection-inversion technique. It is really the mother bird who is feeding the hero infant and the latter who bites into the mother's flesh. The body destruction is followed by a reparation; the wound is healed, the flesh put back to its place. Then we may conjecture that the hero as rescuer is also a reparation and originally the bird is quite right in identifying him with the aggressor. The mother can not have any more children because the infant hero eats them out of the "nest (womb)." The motive that the young birds are destroyed when the mother leaves in search of food, and a serpent comes to take her place is something we have seen before. Oral deprivation gives rise to body destruction phantasies and the retribution anxiety transforms the mother into a devouring monster—a trace of which she retains in the "manifest contents." Moreover we can assume the inversion technique also in the time sequence: this is not the end of the story, it is the beginning and after this comes the descent into the underworld.³ It is quite evident that the theme of the young eagles rescue is a repetition of the motive "rescue of people swallowed by the dragon or fish."

The Kirghis child-hero is wandering in search of his father. He meets an old woman and she offers him her nipple. The child sucks and sucks till the old woman faints. She adopts him as her son and he then nearly kills her three grown up sons. He finds his wife in the house of the "Seven-headed Dschalmaus" and when he kills the monster and rips his body all the cattle and people swallowed by the monster come out. Then he comes to a tree where the dragon is just about to swallow the young birds. "This dragon," he observes, "is just like the Dschalmaus who swallowed my wife" and he cuts the dragon's body into two. The bird children tell him that their mother gives birth to three children every year and these are regularly swallowed by the dragon. But they warn him that when their mother comes she might eat

1. Meszaros, *Csúvas Népköltés Gyűjtemény*, 1912. II. 375.

2. The first person the hero meets in this world is his mother, she dies, and he revives her aided by a raven. Panzer, *Studien I* 19. 2. (Russian).

3. That is: hero bites his way into the mother's womb.

him.¹ In this version the hero is the child who nearly kills his mother by sucking.

The introduction or the key to many European dragon myths or tales — irrespective of the "type" into which they develop afterwards — is a situation in which the dragon withholds water and eats people. The monster will not let the water run before they have given him somebody to eat. And it is the custom of the tyrant to offer the monster all strangers who come into the country² (Identity of exposed victim and deliverer.) They were approaching a town and there they saw a beautiful girl sitting under a tree; she was crying bitterly. When the young Gypsy asked her what the trouble was she said she was the king's daughter and it was her lot to be eaten by the dragon who lives in the source and will not let the water flow if he does not get a girl to eat every year.³

The palace of the Tzar was connected with a spring through subterranean water and at the source of the water sat a Lamia and she lived on human flesh. Whenever she had eaten a human being the water ran for a day, when she ate two it ran for two days. She had eaten so many people that the Tzar could not find anybody to send to the Lamia and there was no other water in the world of darkness so he had to send his own daughter.⁴ Ali comes to a town, and there was a source that was guarded by an enormous serpent. This serpent granted the townspeople only a minimum quantity of water and that only on condition that a young girl brought him a big cup of kuskus and meat every day. If the food was not enough the serpent ate the girl too.⁵ When the serpent was killed the water flowed out of the source more and more till it grew into a river.

If our interpretation of the myth is correct the dragon is originally the mother. The source that ceases to flow means the source of milk and the result of oral deprivation is the oral-aggressive impulse of the infant, the body-destruction phantasy which is the basic element of the dragon killer. But in the myth,

1. W. Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der tuerkischen Stämme*, III. 1870. 297-317.

2. G. Georgeakis et L. Pineau, *Le Folk-Lore de Lesbos*, (Les Litteratures Populaires de Toutes les Nations, XXXI.) 1894. 37.

3. H. von Wislocki, *Volksdichtungen der siebenbuergischen und südungarischen Zigeuner*, 1890. 262.

4. A. Leskion, *Balkanmärchen*, 1915. 74.

5. L. Frobenius, *Volksmärchen der Kabylen*, 1927. II. 82, 83.

projection is at work and it is not the hero who wishes to eat the dragon, but the insatiable dragon who feeds on human flesh.

A Kabyl version of the dragon-killer story contains conclusive proofs of the dragon and mother equation and helps us to understand some of the episodes of the story. A man had seven wives and each wife had a son. When the seven sons were grown up their father told them to kill their mother. If one of them fails to do this he would not acknowledge him as his son any more. Six of the sons obeyed his orders but the seventh left the house with his mother.

He leaves the house with his mother and two tame lions. The hero spends the night in an empty building where seven wuarssen (ogres) challenge him to fight. Six of them come into the house, one stops outside. Six heads he cuts clean off with one stroke but when the seventh wuarssen comes in, his sword is blunt his strength is waning and he only cuts the neck half off so that the head dangled on one side. He locks this wuarssen in one of the rooms and settles down to stay there with his mother and the lions. The mother finds the ogre and they are married. She induces her son to stay at home and to lock up his lions. Then she prevails upon him to betray the secret of his strength, and having bound him to a pillar she calls the ogre. But the lions liberate him and kill the wuarssen. He goes away with his lions and comes to a town where a seven headed serpent is retaining all the water. The daughter of the Amir has brought the serpents food and is going to be eaten herself with the food. The young man says, "My lions and I are just as hungry as the seven headed serpent and we are not afraid of it." The hero sleeps in the girls lap and when the serpents first head becomes visible, he cuts it off with one stroke of his sabre. The serpent says "That was not my real head," "Nor was it my real stroke," the hero replies. Finally when the seventh head is cut off the serpent said, "That was my real head." "And that was my real stroke" the hero answers. After the usual "impostor" episode the hero marries the girl he has rescued. One day he feels that he is yearning to see his mother. So he fetches her and on the way he shows her the place where he fought the dragons. She finds the dragons' heads and takes the poisonous fangs. Then she tells her daughter-in-law to leave her alone for one night with her son. She rubs the snake poison into

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his bed and the young man dies. The lions dig him out of the grave, lick the poison off his body, revive him and die in his stead as now they have got the poison into their bodies. After having buried the lions he goes home and cuts his mother into pieces with his sabre.¹

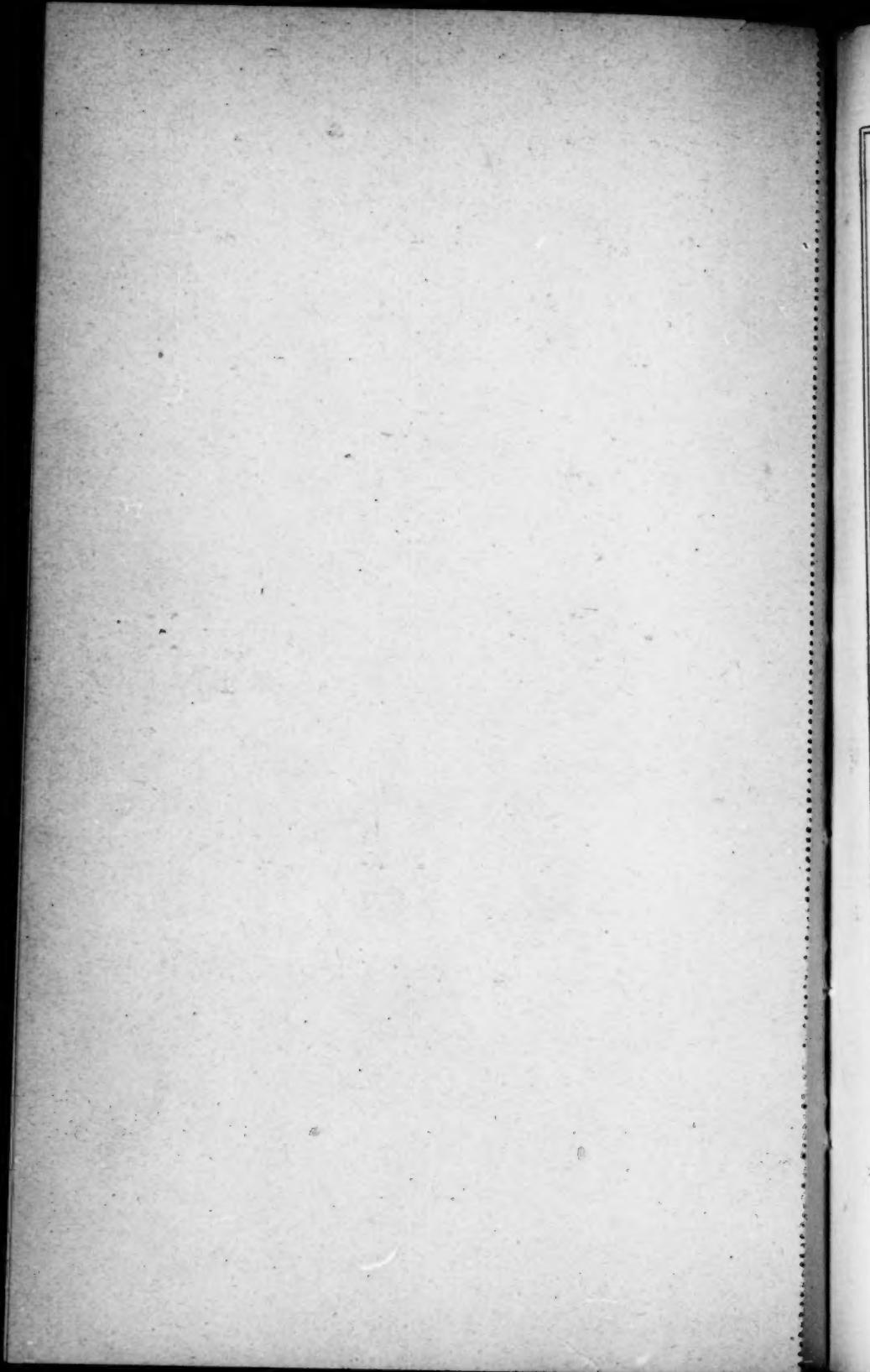
The hero of this story is the only brother who refuses to kill his mother — and he kills her in the end. The first "formula" on which this is based is revealed as follows. "It is not I who want to kill (cut into pieces) my mother but my brothers" and the second "it is not I who wants to kill my mother but my mother who wants to kill me" and the third "it is not I who wants all the milk (body contents; in the story the water) for myself, it is the dragon, the mother." There are seven brothers, seven ogres, and the dragon has seven heads, moreover in each case there is something special about the seventh brother, or ogre or head. Now a typical feature of dragons is their many headedness and in the story the number of heads or the capacity of the heads to grow again after having been cut off is just the thing to be afraid of. I conjecture that in this case something that was originally a restoration phantasy has now become a phantasy fraught with anxiety through a return of the very anxiety against which it was erected. For the ogres and the serpents' heads are identical and so are the ogres and the brothers. We thus see the dragon as a monster-mother always bringing forth new heads i. e. brothers, a phantasy I have found in analysis in a family with many siblings. But the reappearance of the head is also a restoration "the brothers I have killed are not dead, here is the head again."

This gives us a hint regarding the function and meaning of the brothers in the Bears Son story, Bears Son, the hero, is accompanied by two or three followers or brothers. These brothers accompany the hero after having been conquered by him and they let him down into the Underworld. When he has finished his work in the Underworld, killed all the dragons he can find, they cut the rope when he is to be pulled up and prevent his re-ascending. Then he is brought up by the mother-bird.

1. L. Frobenius, *Volksmärchen der Kabylen*, II, 1922, 71-79. In a Caucasian folk-tale, the hero's friend cuts a serpent in twain before he allows the hero to have access to the princess. Then he is just about to cut her in twain too with the same sword, when she vomits up a number of little serpents and is cured. A. Ditt, *Kaukasische Märchen*, 1920, 95.

The contents of the original body destruction phantasy is that the child wants to cut all the siblings out of his mother's womb and to take their place in the "Underworld." The denial or projection technique develops this theme through the following phases. "It is not I who have aggressive impulses against my brothers; they are trying to destroy me. They let me down into the underworld-womb, it is not I who am trying to cut them out of the womb" and finally, "I do not want to take their place in the womb, they are preventing me from coming out." Before the hero and his brothers go down to the Underworld there is a preliminary episode in the house of a demon or dwarf. The hero's brothers are preparing food and the demon takes their food away till the hero manages to overcome him.¹ Here we have the projection of the oral trauma. It is not the hero whose food has been taken away, but his brothers — which is the same thing as projecting the aggressive impulse from himself to his brothers.

1. Panzer, F. *Studien zur germanischen Sagengeschichte*, 1910, I, 75. (The place is called land of thirst and hunger.) 114 (The demon says, "There are three terrible things in this world to be tired, old and hungry.")



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THE SOCIO - PSYCHOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF DEATH AMONG THE POMO INDIANS¹

By PROF. B. W. AGINSKY (New York)

The idea of the overt planned taking of one's own life which we find as an institution in our western civilization, in the orient (especially Japan), in the Trobriand Islands, and in other cultures, is mutually understandable to the individuals of those cultures (although the background for the acts is different in each case). The presentation of a society where overt planned suicide is foreign to the ideas of the people and where the concept is absolutely unintelligible seems worth while as an example for the further study and understanding of the subject.

The Pomo Indians of Northern California cannot comprehend suicide as we know it.² To them, every death and misfortune was the result of indirect or direct retaliation either from (1) the 'supernaturals', or (2) from some individual.³

There were many cases of individuals who would not have died when they did, had the psychological expectations been different.

1. The material for this paper was obtained among the Pomo Indians of California on two separate field trips for the Anthropology Department of Columbia University during the summer of 1934 and from March to December, 1935. The author has checked the previous reports on the Pomo while in the field, and elaborated upon many phases of Pomo life in the notes he took. It was on the basis of the reported material that he was able to accomplish what he did, and he wishes to give full credit to the previous workers. However, it is impossible to quote in detail the various reports. If any omissions occur they are oversights, not a deliberate attempt to take credit away from the earlier workers.

2. The center of the Pomo area lies approximately 110 miles north of San Francisco and forty miles from the coast.

3. E. M. Loeb, "Pomo Folkways," Univ. of Calif. Publs. in Amer. Arch. and Ethn., Vol. 19, No. 2, Berkeley, 1926: p. 305: "Sickness and misfortune are always believed to be results of the breaking of a taboo, or the work of a malicious enemy. . . ."

A. L. Kroeber, "Handbook of the Indians of California", B. A. E. Bul. 78, Washington, D. C., p. 253: "The decrepitly aged are said to have been sometimes strangled with a stick pressed down at each end. - - - Among the affluent Pomo the practice must have been rare." This is an exception as is the killing of twins and unwanted children at birth. Cf. E. W. Gifford and A. L. Kroeber, "Culture Element Distributions: IV, Pomo", Univ. of Calif. Publs. in Amer. Arch. and Ethn., Vol. 37, No. 4, Berkeley, 1937, p. 150, Element nos. 680 and 693; and B. W. Aginsky, "Population Control in the Shanel (Pomo) Tribe", Amer. Sociol. Rev., No. 2, IV, 1939.

(1) *Death due to Retaliation from the Supernatural.*

The supernaturals retaliated either for the infringement of a taboo or for the calling upon them for too much power. The power was essential for the successful accomplishment of any endeavor. Almost every masculine phase of Pomo life was on the status of a profession. Each member of a profession (some of which were money-manufacturing, gambling, fishing, deer hunting, and doctoring) had a collection of out-of-the-ordinary objects which were potent in their ability to store up power to be used for the successful participant in an undertaking, and the power and techniques, which he had received from an older relative. All the objects were kept in a "bundle". Any individual could increase the potency of his bundle by accumulating objects and putting more and more power into them.⁴

Aside from the "poison men" (sorcerers), gamblers were the most fearless and at the same time most dangerous men in the community. Some gamblers made themselves so potent before a gambling match that their children died as a result. That is, the 'supernaturals' caused their deaths. Some of these men could not have children because they were so full of power. The same statements were also made concerning the other Pomo professionals, especially the hereditary doctors.

Retaliation from a 'supernatural' for the breaking of a taboo resulted in sickness which was followed by death unless remedial measures were set in motion.⁵ Connected with the bundle, there were numerous taboos which every professional had to observe.⁶ The individual should never neglect his particular spirits who looked after him and who had to be given a dance periodically in conjunction with the opening of the bundle. The Pomo who owned bundles never would show them to anyone without giving the bundle a "big time." They were afraid that some terrible "accident" or death would befall them. What we call accident they call retribution from the 'supernaturals.' They explain a great many accidents as being due to the failure to observe some rule con-

4. cf. Loeb, op. cit., p. 309.

5. cf. S. A. Barrett, "The Ethno-Geography of the Pomo and Neighboring Indians," Univ. of Calif. Publs. in Amer. Arch. and Ethn., Vol. 16, No. 1, Berkeley, 1908, pp. 22-23.

6. Gifford, op. cit., p. 156.

Kroeber, op. cit., p. 258, "The bag" (outfit doctor's bundle) was thought extremely powerful: its shadow would kill a child on which it might fall."

cerning their own or some relative's bundle. For example, one should never sell the bundle; one should never even talk about such a thing. A daughter who told a man that her father might be prevailed upon to sell his bundle now that the old customs were falling by the way due to the westernization of the culture fell down a flight of stairs. The father who acquiesced and finally agreed to sell the bundle had a serious accident. In another case a man fell out of an acorn tree and died because he had allowed a rat to get into his bundle.⁷

In addition there were a great many other taboos connected with such things as, for example, menstruation, the sun, the moon, various birds, thunder, death, birth, and sexual intercourse.⁸ In fact there is no phase of Pomo life that I could discover which did not have some taboos connected with it. The Pomo religion had a great many taboos which had to be observed. There were taboos concerning every bit of dress and paraphernalia. While Loeb — "was visiting the Northern Pomo an old man took sick and died. (Loeb) — listened in on the family discussion concerning the cause of the illness. The shaman (doctor) Bowen settled the matter. The man took sick because he had burned his ceremonial split stick rattle."⁹

During my field trips I continually endeavored to find a case of "pure accident" which had befallen a Pomo. A few times I thought I had come upon a case, but eventually found that the individual had broken some taboo or had accumulated too much power. Thus what we consider accident is explained by them as retaliation due to failure to comply with their religious precepts.

The Pomo were accomplished in woodcraft, hunting and fishing, but a Pomo was unable to cope with the world without his supernatural. On the other hand, to meet with a ghost or a supernatural creature (and the area was full of them¹⁰), meant death unless someone was at hand to drive away the "supernatural." If one saw a monster while alone in the mountains he frequently died because he could not reach home. The living things such as

7. Loeb, *op. cit.*, p. 305, states, "Among the Pomo if a man fell down and broke his leg while hunting, his misfortune was not attributed to bad luck but to the fact that he had broken a taboo."

8. Loeb, *op. cit.*, p. 305

9. Loeb, *op. cit.*, p. 305

10. cf. Loeb, *op. cit.*, pp. 303-305.

bears, rattle-snakes, mountain lions, etc., could be outwitted, controlled, killed, or escaped from. The individual used physical means in these cases, although there was always a definite reason for the occurrence, a forgotten taboo, or a neglect of the proper "supernatural." Nevertheless they relied upon themselves. But when they met with a monster or a ghost it was certain death unless a doctor took care of the patient.¹¹

Powers, from whom we have our first report concerning these people in relation to this phase of their culture says, "They are remarkable for their timidity. My host, Mr. Carner, related how a full-grown, vigorous *Tatu* in his employ was once frightened to death in broad daylight by a belligerent turkey-cock. The poor fellow had never seen that species of fowl before, when one day he was walking through the yard the gobbler, being greatly blown out and enlarged in appearance, made a furious dash at him, and so frightened him that he straightway took to his bed and expired in two days. Another one of the same tribe unwittingly trod into a bear trap when hunting one day with a companion, whereupon he dropped all in a heap upon the ground, helpless and lifeless, with unspeakable terror, and died in his tracks in half an hour, though a subsequent examination revealed the fact that the steel trap had inflicted no mortal injury on him, and that he undoubtedly perished from fright. His comrade, instead of unclamping the trap, fled for his dear life, believing it was the devil they had encountered."¹²

These individuals' reactions to the turkey and the steel trap are perfectly understandable when other phases of the culture are taken into consideration. In the first place there are supernatural monsters whose descriptions so closely resemble turkeys that it seems as if the turkey itself was being described. Furthermore, the majority of supernatural monsters are birds who, at the order of the messengers, fly about the world seeking victims whom they kill and take to the abode of the dead at the southern extremity of the world. In the second place the entrance to one of the "other

11. For a description of doctors cf. Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 259; Loeb, *op. cit.*; Barrett, *op. cit.*; Gifford, *op. cit.*; L. S. Freeland, "Pomo Doctors and Poisoners", Univ. of Calif. *Publs. in Amer. Arch. and Ethno.*, Vol. 20, 1923.

12. S. Powers, "Tribes of California," *Contribs. to North Amer. Ethn.*, 1877, 3:140

worlds," is frequently found unexpectedly and in passing through the entrance, which is surrounded by sharp materials, the entrance suddenly closes upon the individual crushing him to death. In the former case death is sudden or lingering which might explain the time interval in the case of the death caused by the turkey; in the latter case the death is sudden. "If Damatu so decrees, it is kept there and the patient never recovers; if not, the spirit is returned to the body and the person recovers."¹³

In the vast majority of cases when a Pomo meets with a supernatural creature he loses consciousness. If he reaches home and faints and a doctor is called in, the doctor must reconstruct the man's movements in order to ascertain as nearly as possible which of the many "supernaturals" the man may have encountered. He does this by questioning the members of the family: "Where was the man going? What was his purpose? How long was he away? Which direction did he take? Which direction did he come from?" Finally the doctor assembles the facts and comes to the conclusion that the man could have encountered certain of the "supernaturals." He then makes a composite costume using the most spectacular traits of the "supernaturals" he has decided upon. When all is ready, he has some assistants prop up the man in bed, goes outside the house, and at a signal comes towards the man in a menacing attitude while the assistants forcibly open the victim's eyes. The reaction on the part of the patient varies from a slight muscular reaction to violent struggling. In one case "her back went off like the crack of a gun and she began to shake all over."¹⁴

The reactions point out to the doctor which of the many "supernaturals" the patient has encountered or whether it has been a ghost. According to the reaction treatment is instituted. Songs are sung, the patient is massaged and other treatments are applied. "Then the doctor takes off his costume or destroys the model before the patient's eyes to relieve his mind of fear. Recovery is said to be rapid."¹⁵

The man who meets with a "supernatural," becomes ill, and is cured, sometimes becomes a sucking doctor and in turn cures individuals who become ill. However, he is in a different category

13. Barrett, *op. cit.*, p. 23

14. Freeland, *op. cit.*, pp. 63 and 67. Gifford, *op. cit.*, p. 157 and note.

15. Freeland, *op. cit.*, pp. 63 and 67

from the "outfit or poison" doctor who will be discussed later.¹⁶

The Pomo were not afraid of a dead person, but after the dead body had been cremated¹⁷ which is done so that it "would go up into ashes and disappear into the air" they go through all kinds of purification rites and ceremonies to ward off the ghost. The ghost may be seen or heard when one passes by the place where the body was cremated. "It is doing some kind of work."

The Pomo were in great fear of ghosts. Special songs were sung to keep them away from the habitations because they came "wandering about." If a person has no ghost songs he hires someone who did have some to sing the songs and keep the ghosts away.

When a person sees a ghost he becomes very sick and faints. If songs are not sung over him, or if he does not recover consciousness and sing the songs himself, he dies. For this reason the Pomo were afraid to travel at night, even in groups.

Jeff Joaquin was going to Yorkville to take possession of a colt which his uncle (his mother's mother's sister's son) had given to him. For some reason he was forced to travel part of the distance at night, but he said the incentive was sufficient for him to overcome his fear of night travel. He started on horseback from Hopland about six o'clock in the evening. While he was passing through a pine grove about halfway between the two villages he heard a group of men talking. Jeff stopped the horse and listened, but heard nothing. Then he started the horse and the noise started. He stopped and the noise stopped. He remembered that his father and grandfather had told him that some people were accustomed to hunt in that vicinity in the past and he became frightened. His dog had run ahead by this time and flushed some owls which flew about. The man realized that the owls had been fooling him, so he kept on going.¹⁸

In a short while he came to a place where the trail went by a spot where a cremation had taken place. About one hundred yards before he got to that spot he heard an old woman crying and pounding acorns. By this time it was about two or three o'clock in the morning. Jeff did not stop this time. He kept right on going.

16. cf. E. M. Loeb, *op. cit.*, p. 303; Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 259; Freeland, *op. cit.*; Barrett, *op. cit.*; Gifford, *op. cit.*

17. Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 253

18. Gifford, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-153, p. 202 and note 904. Loeb, *op. cit.*, p. 167,

When he got to the noise it stopped. When he was about one hundred yards beyond the place the same noise began again. Jeff was very frightened. He kept right on going until he arrived at his uncle's house. His uncle heard him coming, met him, took him inside, and spread a blanket for him to sit upon, as was the custom. As he was about to sit down he collapsed. He recovered consciousness about three hours later. His grandfather was "doctoring" him and singing ghost songs.¹⁹ When the man had told his grandfather what had frightened him his grandfather knew immediately that it had definitely been a ghost and became frightened himself. After many ghost songs had been sung the man recovered fully. The man stated that he would have died if a ghost-singer had not been present.

The majority of cases which I was able to collect pointed toward sudden visitations with the expectancy of death always accompanying the illness because the "supernaturals" had always taken the "soul or essence" away. The doctors who were members of the community had a great deal of supernatural power in their control and were able sometimes to win the man back from the "supernatural."²⁰ However, it was institutionalized in this culture that death always followed unless a doctor of some kind intervened.

The taboos were so numerous that the individuals said that they often consciously neglected some of them, and frequently forgot some, and occasionally were ignorant of others.²¹ When they were on a trip, out hunting, or for any other reason by themselves in the mountains, especially at night, they remembered their transgressions or omissions and they were almost overcome with fear of the "supernaturals" striking them down.²²

In the majority of cases the individual who was struck down by a supernatural was able to get to his destination before fainting. From the reports of informants it seems that their apprehension,

"The owl (bakuku, C) was considered a bird of ill omen."

19. Loeb, *op. cit.*, p. 306, "Kanu was a charm, and kaocal mana used to counteract the effects of bad spirits and ghost fright." Freeland, *op. cit.*, p. 61, "The healing songs for ordinary illness are addressed to Marumda, the creator, and perhaps to the other great spirits, but the group called "frightening" songs, used where a person is haunted by a ghost or monster, call on this unfriendly spirit to remove its curse."

20. "Win" is used advisedly because there is a great deal of similarity between gambling and doctoring in this culture.

21. "Ignorance of the law" was no excuse here either. Occasionally an individual found out after his brush with death which taboo he had unwittingly broken.

22. Freeland, *op. cit.*, p. 63, "Seeing a ghost is not an accident; a ghost always

anxiety, and fear became overpowering and when they finally reached their home or a relative's home they collapsed.

The Pomo also state that some individuals who had apparently encountered "supernaturals" were found dead in the hills. A few had been found unconscious. When they were badly mutilated the Bear doctors were blamed.²³

(2) *Death due to Retaliation from an Individual*

Every Pomo individual was constantly apprehensive that he was being the object of sorcery by the traditional enemies of members of his family and by the enemies he had made during his own life.²⁴ The retaliation, and frequently it was only a fancied wrong that brought it about, was very drastic. Death, with but a few minor exceptions, was always the objective, and the objective was always attained unless the relatives of the stricken man called in a "doctor" to cure the ill person. This doctor had the ability to "take out" the "poison." He also was the man who had the ability to instil poison and in fact was one of the professional poison manufacturers to whom the people went for the means by which they could kill one another. Thus he could both cure and impregnate the people. This particular type of illness and death always came upon an individual by means of the "doctoring" of this professional class of death-dealers whose services were at the disposal of any individual or family who had sufficient goods with which to pay for the services.²⁵

Lingering illnesses, whether the inception was from breaking a taboo, or from poisoning, were explained as being due to the hiring of a doctor by the relatives of the stricken individual. Then there ensued a concentrated and intense battle between the group curing the patient and all the enemies of any relative of the sick man. The patient would be almost well and then have a relapse which was explained as being caused by the enemies injecting further "poison objects" into the endeavor.

comes for some purpose . . . nothing is nothing and something makes something, as the informant expresses it."

23. cf. Barrett, op. cit., Loeb, op. cit., Gifford, op. cit., p. 157, Freeland, op. cit., Kroeber, op. cit., p. 259.

24. cf. Loeb, op. cit., p. 305, Gifford, op. cit., p. 157 and notes. This sorcery was called poisoning although no actual poison was ever used. It was a paste made from the various parts of the bodies of potent animals or objects.

25. cf. Gifford, op. cit., pp. 156-157.

When a person became ill he went to bed with the firm conviction that he had been poisoned and would die unless a curing doctor was hired to take out the poison and fight off the onslaught of the supernatural creature who was taking the "essence" of the man away. Under pressure by the doctor who was curing the individual, the situation when the man was impregnated with poison, was reconstructed. Usually another person had touched the patient at a dance, in the sweat house, or on a trip. The forces were immediately set in motion to retaliate, by impregnating that individual or a member of his family, with poison. This might be the prolongation of an old feud or the inception of a new one.

Feuds were continually going on throughout the Pomo territory. Each member of every family was always apprehensive that he had been poisoned and at the first indication of illness, fancied or real, he collapsed. He had good reason for the collapse. It was the accepted pattern in the culture that when a person was poisoned by strong poisoners, death followed in every case. Many families had insufficient funds with which to pay for a long drawn-out battle which was frequently necessary to save the individual. Almost every mature individual had been instrumental, by contributions of money if nothing else, in procuring the death of other individuals. Every individual was cognizant of the fact that when a man was ill his enemies immediately all tried, individually, to place some object near his house to speed his death, and since every family had many enemies this was a considerable threat. Every individual knew that, in spite of the most expensive treatments, vows for cures, and careful watchfulness on the part of the victim's family, many individuals had died. All of these factors had considerable effect upon the individual when he became ill.

These institutionalizations must have brought about many deaths where recovery would have resulted otherwise, especially in view of the fact that no real poison was ever used and death from disease, accident and old age must have been the real reasons.

The Pomo deaths, which were not due to natural causes, are not comparable with the overt planned suicides of the cultures previously mentioned, but there are elements present in the Pomo

death constellation which are found in the psychopathological deaths in our own culture.²⁶

Although suicide, as we are familiar with it, did not occur among the Pomo, this form of "psychological death" occurred frequently. It was a form of self-destruction on the basis of mental processes.²⁷

This psychological death was as real as death from any disease known to man. There was no hope for a cure without the procurement of a doctor. Without his aid the man died as surely as if he had had his head severed from his body. The individuals were constantly under this terrific fear. In some of the cases of poisoning physical deficiencies appeared. These can be explained away as the diseases known to modern medical science. But in some of these cases recovery undoubtedly would have come about by itself if the man had not expected to die. The psychological reaction to the tradition certainly helped the disease triumph over the individual, especially where the family was economically unable to pay for the services of the better healers, and the sick man was conscious of that fact.

The varieties of anxieties which the Pomo indulged in were instrumental in bringing about psychotic states equivalent to what we call suicide. In our society we have cases of individuals "drinking themselves to death," of individuals taking their own lives, that is, being the cause of their own death due to emotional upsets. No one would say that the Pomo pattern of self-death was the same as ours, but nevertheless it was self-death if no one interfered.

As we have seen, there were two important categories concern-

26. It is not the province of the author to show how close a comparison can be drawn between the institutionalizations surrounding the Pomo deaths and the causation of the deaths of some of the psychopathics of our own culture.

27. Loeb, *op. cit.*, pp. 305-306. "Benson, my Eastern Pomo informant, declared that an infringement of a taboo was always punished by the culprit's becoming afraid of something and turning sick. He illustrated this by a case in point. His people had a taboo on a man's giving meat which he had himself obtained to a woman if she had recently had sexual intercourse, or was menstruating, or was heavy with child. Benson himself once gave a piece of venison from a deer that he had just killed to a woman who was heavy with child. The woman at once vomited up the meat. From that time on Benson spent all of his time chasing deer which he merely imagined seeing. He never killed any and he grew quite thin. An old hunter came upon Benson while he was in this condition. The hunter questioned Benson and then informed him that he had broken a taboo and would die unless doctored up. The hunter took Benson into the woods, sweated him over a small fire with the aid of four sacred herbs, and bathed him in running water. After this Benson regained his health."

ing death. In the first category, the individual, by being full of anxiety and apprehension, brought about a psychological condition in himself whereby he reacted to a fancied meeting with a malevolent supernatural which resulted in a state somewhat resembling catatonia, or had what we call an accident and fell out of a tree or fell down a mountain, etc. The illness resulted from the retaliation by the supernaturals for the negative or positive infringement of a taboo. The cure for this was a form of shock therapy (this includes the ghost cure) or medical cure. The illness resulting from impregnation by poison was the retaliation by a person for some real or fancied wrong and the cure was by means of taking out the poison and driving away the supernatural who was taking away the "essence" of the ill man.

In both categories the man died unless a cure was instituted immediately. The individual was psychologically prepared to die, no matter which form of illness he had. He fell into the traditionalized acceptable mode of behaviour and helped death in coming. He could do nothing himself, as far as the cultural mode of behavior was concerned to fight death off. That was entirely in the hands of relatives who stood guard and hired a doctor.

Enquiries concerning suicide as we know it brought forth responses showing that the Pomo not only could not conceive of such a thing, but that they explained it as occurring in other societies because the supernaturals or the doctors in the cultures discussed, had caused the individual to do the act. As for themselves, they had never heard of anyone in their history who had ever committed suicide.

COMMENTS

by

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The foregoing bit of material from work in progress should whet the appetite of the psychoanalyst interested in the relation of the individual to his cultural matrix. At first glance the phenomena described here make an impression of strangeness, of something quite different to that to which we are accustomed in our own culture. Therefore it is to be hoped that before this small vestigial culture quite passes from the picture Dr. Aginsky and his group of field workers will gather material against which the analyst may check his expectations. We understand that only a very few aged informants are still alive and that the younger epigones have quite lost sympathy and contact with the old ideology. The material here given lends itself so easily to interpretation along familiar analytic lines that the cautious will be pardoned for asking for further information relative to the genetic background.

Before we concern ourselves with the problems of Pomo ideology of death and mischance (by which I mean the system of rationalization and conscious attitudes towards death and the social customs and rites associated therewith) and the relation of this to suicide among these people, it is well to point out certain things as to statistical expectations. Granting that these people differ in no respect from ourselves as regards the suicidal impulse what would be the expectation of finding any actual instance of it? Probably very remote. Calling our own rate 19 per 100,000 it is apparent that in a tribe which was estimated at 8000 when the Whites came in, at 1700 around the year 1877, and now counts hardly more than 200, suicide would occur only once in many generations. A more exact estimate of the probabilities I would not know how to make, but this much is sufficient to show that no conclusive answer can be expected to factual questions. The fact that no actual cases of suicide were found even in recollection proves nothing at this stage of our investigations.

We are restricted then to psychological problems of a sort to which our data may afford enlightening and significant answers.

to questions relating to the nature and significance of the particular ideology.

In the Pomo culture the individuals seem to present a curiously passive attitude to death, the general concept of which is institutionalized in a fashion which corresponds among ourselves only to certain forms of paranoid delusion. More specifically we might say to paranoid delusions based on an oral phantasy. The impression given by this culture might be characterized as paranoid or again as of a culture that has crystalized and been fixated, at least in the aspects here reported, at a level of psychic development comparable to that seen with us in certain phases during the childhood of individuals. It would be interesting to know how far this parallelism could be extended.

This is not the first instance of such parallelism to come to the notice of psychoanalysts. Freud's early writings make mention of several. And his last book was devoted to working out such a parallel. It is just the analytic approach to this problem that has seemed to the anthropologist to be the weakest and least valid part of psychoanalysis. Nevertheless the apparent fact is that what we see in the phantasies, especially in their repressed content, of individuals in our culture can be found as traditional or actual social custom and cult practice in other, so called primitive, cultures. This is particularly true of the bizarre phantasies of the sexually perverse. The several attempts from different points of view to explain this situation do not yet seem adequate. The data have been insufficient and biased. Even the fact of this parallelism seems to have been overlooked by the anthropologist. We have in this essay a new instance and may hope that the anthropologist will seize the opportunity to provide us with more satisfactory data.

Just as we see in our own children those who do not recognize as yet the concept of accidental mischance but suspect every misfortune of being due to the evil wishes of others so do we see in this Pomo ideology something of the same sort. With our children the analyst is justified in thinking the child has himself harbored ill-wishes, now repressed, against the person whose ill-wishes he believes responsible for his mishap. According to the Pomo belief death is due to the malice of other personalities, supernatural or human. May we predicate repressed ill-wishes similar to those in our children on the part of the unfortunate victim? and directed

towards whom? The fact that much stress was laid on training submission to the group and consideration of others under real threat, the nature of which will be apparent below, would seem to say: yes, decidedly.

From whom may these powerful ill-wishes that produce death be expected? The answer given is: from supernaturals and living individuals who have some special relation to these same supernaturals. So says the ideology. But another source which I shall quote below says: from the headman (mother's father or father's father?) who causes the too obstreperous individualist to be "poisoned" by one of a neighboring group. Here in fact is what corresponds to the phantasies—to their repressed content, at least—of our children: toe the line and all will be well, deviate and papa will kill you. Behind the ideological threat which seems to us fictitious lies an actuality.

It would be interesting to know just how far, and just how much, the displacement has gone in the ideology from the actual male who heads the family and in whom resides the power and authority to the supernatural in whom the analyst will see a transfiguration of this figure. We may expect to find on further investigation linguistic and mythological evidence to substantiate the above remarks, ideas related to the "ancestral spirit of the group," material to show that the taboos, the infringement of which brings down the punishment will be in some sense infringements of the father's sexual prerogatives, etc. Some indication of this is already given in the attitude towards the development of what we would call aggressive individuality and individual powers and what the Pomo call "becoming a professional." This is easily parallel in our culture by the familiar adolescent struggle to attain masculinity and a calling. It might be said of the Pomo that they had failed to resolve their adolescent conflict, and had retained their passive nonaggressive attitude to the group. Again the sexual interpretation is suggested by the attitude to the "bundles" in which the powers obtained from the supernaturals are embodied. We are reminded of our phantasies about the separable penis. Here again we may expect detailed linguistic or mythological studies will produce definite evidence of a frank sexual ideology associated with such bundles.

Just as the individual's attitude towards death is one of passive

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but fearful acceptance so also is his attitude towards healing. In neither case can the individual do anything for himself. It must be done for him or to him by the group or by a special representative of the group. It is noteworthy that the activity of killing and of healing are embodied in the group or in its special representative, who it may be noted appears to run special dangers in using his powers. A more detailed investigation would probably show that these dangers pertain to a momentary forgetfulness that he has these powers only on sufferance and as representative of the group and not for himself as an individual.

Be that as it may, the psychotherapist will be interested in the technique of the craft among the Pomo. What takes place with us in figurative terms, in phantasy, in words, etc., with the Pomo is literally acted out with material things. The Pomo could be said to be that much nearer to objective reality. The Pomo therapist assumes the actual figure of the terrifying object by means of masks, disguises, etc., eventually to disclose that this is all make believe and illusion. The sick individual appears to be passive from beginning to end. With us the individual is active, at least, in initiating the treatment. But even more is he active in the "transference" in endowing the therapist with those aspects which he fears. And again the therapeutic effect depends in part on showing up the false nature of such projections. With the Pomo the therapist actively creates or re-creates the situation, the repetition and showing up of which produces the therapeutic effect. With us the therapist is passive and the patient creates by projections this same situation. The therapist is active only in disclosing the present unreality of this situation. In both techniques there is a tendency to become an active therapist having once undergone the passive experience: from cured to curer.

The general impression given by this Pomo culture is of a tremendous amount of anxiety and guilt-feeling on the part of the adherents. Such an impression may be due to a fault in sampling the material, as to that we cannot say. But it certainly does violence to the civilized man's phantasy that the general lot in more primitive cultures is a much happier and more carefree one. A captious critic could advance the argument at this point that after all this picture is one given by three or four old survivors and what evidence have we that they were not themselves pathological and presenting as the ideology of their group what was only their own interpreta-

tion. Even so, it will be countered what does it matter. A small group of 200 or so were probably always subject to the views of their honored aged. It would not be the first, nor the last time, that one man's views formed the basis for a well developed culture. Better evidence is formed by the precipitation of such views, individual or otherwise, into cultural patterns and institutions. These can be subjected to psychological and sometimes historical analysis and even from a distance permit of surmise as to the psychological views of the inventors. The arguments that can be started at this point in any anthropological circle show that there is as yet no generally accepted method of attack on the problems involved. We have no reason to suppose that we even know what the problems involved are, in this field of the genesis and sociology of world-views and ideologies.

At this point I wish to quote some lines from another paper by Dr. Aginsky, in press in the American Journal of Sociology under the title "An Indian's Soliloquy." It is a report of the comments comparing his culture with that of the white man made by a very aged Indian whose life span covers the old days and the changes up to the present brought about by the intrusion of the whites. As a naive characterization of the superficial differences in the two cultures it would be difficult to improve on. It will be observed that the old Indian has been the victim of faulty sampling. He had no way of knowing that the whites he saw represented a special selection of aggressive and ruthlessly self-seeking individualists which constituted only the pioneer advance guard. In spite of this he has hit on some salient features of white culture as it exists in practice. The italics and remarks in parenthesis are mine.

"What is man? A man is nothing. Without his family he is of less importance than that bug crossing the trail, of less importance than the sputum or exuviae. At least they can be used to help poison¹ a man. A man must be with his family to amount to anything with us. If he had nobody else to help him, the first trouble he got into he would be killed by his enemies because there would be no relatives to help him fight the poison of the other group. No woman would marry him because her family would not let her marry a man with no family. He would be poorer than a

1. Sorcery — black magic

new-born child", etc. . . . (He goes on to specify what the family means and then to contrast the white man's culture in which such functions were selected out and institutionalized in various ways with resultant decay of feelings for the family. He sees in this mainly the growth of individualism and self-seeking.) "We had no courts, judges, schools and the other things you have, but we got along better than you. We had poison but if we minded our own business and restrained ourselves we lived well. ***** We were taught we would suffer from the devil, spirits, ghosts or other people if we did not support one another. ***** He (the self-seeking individual) also knew that if *he was a bad person the head man of his family would pay another tribe to kill him* so that there would be no trouble afterward and so that he would not get the family into trouble all the time. We would kill another person by poisoning him if he was an enemy but we would not treat a stranger the way they (the white man) treat their own brothers and sisters."

Were all homicidal impulses in this culture institutionalized and carried out as group functions? If such were the case it would hardly be our expectation to find such impulses turned around on the individual as suicidal. One wonders also just what the super-ego looked like in these people. From this distance it would seem to have been much simpler and less highly organized than in ourselves. The reported phenomena seem to justify the comment that what in us would be super-ego phenomena, i.e., purely internal psychological processes more or less unconscious which make the individual self-dependent and self-sufficient, were in the Pomo external processes of an ideological and group nature. Presumably the exact nature of the super-ego in these people will always be a matter of inference since available living exponents of the culture in whom super-ego phenomena might be observed analytically no longer exist. And for inference we lack even the necessary primary assumptions on which to build our hypothetico-deductive system without which we cannot order our data. How far we can go by inferential comparison of that culture with the well investigated individuals who have grown up in another culture with different systems of childhood training is still a problem for which we lack the necessary methods of inference and technique of comparison.¹ Psychoanalysis is a science that understands things from a standpoint of genesis in the individual. Our Pomo material reports on the state of affairs at a particular phase,

and only this, in a culture. Dr. Aginsky informs me that he is investigating how things have changed in the individuals under what to the older Indians would be considered the breakdown of their culture. We look forward to this material and ask ourselves will the study of the changes subsequent to a given phase enable us to infer the genesis of that phase? By what process of reasoning can we justify such a notion? But this further material surely ought to show us how altered circumstances work to bring forward a different selection of ideas out of which to build up an ideology. And a different partitioning of functions and motives between the individual and his group.

1. For the sake of argument it is easy to see that a hypothetical psychologist theorist among the Pomo would counter our basic assumption, that all impulses of whatever nature are primarily something in the individual and only secondarily projected on to the group, with another contrary assumption to the effect that some or all impulses are primarily group possessions or functions and only secondarily become individual urges by some process of incorporation. And on the basis of our present factual material which apparently shows a quite different partitioning of impulses (urges, instincts, drives or whatever you choose to call the psychological motive forces) between the individual and his group in the two cultures and, it must be added, in the absence of pertinent and exact information about the repressed content, this hypothetical Pomo would have some justification for his views.

REMARKS ON THE POPULARITY OF MICKEY MOUSE

By Fritz Moellenhoff, M. D. (Peoria)

It is twelve years since Mickey Mouse first put in an appearance. From the history of this mobile and moving figure it is interesting to observe that his first appearance was a complete failure. We have reason to presume that the failure arose from the fact that Mickey Mouse was first *heard* with his creator's voice. We have difficulty in imagining this today since we have become so familiar with the voice that is now used for him.

Mickey's difficult time did not last long and today everyone knows what an enormous success he has had and how he attracts both young and old. You see him as children's toys, as brooches, adorning boxes of Corn Flakes, or appearing in other places as advertisements. If one asks people at random if they like Mickey Mouse, one definitely finds more affirmative than negative answers. Someone who, at my suggestion, made inquiries among his circle of friends found more supporters of Mickey Mouse among women than men. Whether this is the rule, I do not know, I am inclined to attribute it to the fact that women are more closely involved in their children's delight in the movie.

There is little doubt that most children accept the films promptly and unreservedly. Without difficulties their phantasy is linked to the simple pictures, the immediate happenings which take place and which do not presuppose any knowledge but touch on the child's emotions simply by visual means. Repetition of actions and gestures, painfully tiresome for the adult, give profound satisfaction to the child. Repetition is a means to overcome anxiety and to strengthen self-confidence. In the Mickey Mouse films we find a continuous repetition of leaps across precipices, of capture and escape, of attack and defence. Monotony does not seem to exist for the child. Just as a verse is sung fifty times with an untired enthusiasm, so the fiftieth leap is watched with the same amount of pleasure as was the first. The principal character of this play of motion is a mouse. This fact is already a paradox for the adult. The mouse is a fearful, flighty little animal, annoying only because of its voracity and the noise it makes during the night, and certainly

most unfit for playing a lead on the stage. Children, on the contrary, enjoy its insignificance here partly because it is so successful in overcoming obstacles. It is difficult to understand why the creator of Mickey Mouse chose a mouse when it would have been much simpler, in many respects, to select for instance a supple cat. Should we not suppose the creator has an intuitive knowledge of a child's reactions? The small creature fights, runs around and is very much more successful than the bigger ones. It concerns one of the most frequent day dreams of childhood, the dream to be grown up. Though pleasurable for many children I found a number of the little would-be-greats, in whom, at times, this dream was accompanied or followed by anxiety. For them the Mickey Mouse films contain an extra gratification: the day dream is playfully substituted by a series of pictures in which smallness is victorious throughout.

Everybody, however, has seen the slowly growing enthusiasm of the adults for Mickey Mouse, which followed an initial failure for which several reasons may be advanced. Earlier I mentioned the first voice of Mickey Mouse and the fact that the whole concept affects the adult as paradoxical. Many of us are inclined to feel offended whenever we suspect that we are not taken very seriously. When in this mood, it is impossible to get away from the monotony and silliness of these films which then become their most conspicuous features. Furthermore the lack of causality becomes offensive to our thinking and the eternal gaiety and unfounded optimism affect our nerves. Still we know that the mouse conquered several continents. In Europe, critics spoke of a specific product of American humour. Its characteristic was said to be a denial of man's need for logic and a preference to a grotesque and crude chaos of which there is an abundance in the Mickey Mouse films. But in spite of differences of humour existing in various nations the mouse became an international success even though most adults were reluctant to permit themselves to leave the realm of intellectual control and surrender to a playfully primitive world.

It is an anthropomorphosized animal world where a mouse has all kinds of dangerous and difficult adventures. The companions of the mouse are a somewhat silly and depressed setter and an arrogant, foolish drake. Malicious and threatening enemies are everywhere. Giants, gigantic apes, bulls, all are bent on obstructing the

well meant intentions of the mouse. The material world, especially the world of technical object, plays its part too—sometimes in a helpful and sometimes in a hampering manner. The wild actions, jumping, fighting, being vanquished, conquering, all these are done at a breakneck speed. At times a plan of action is concocted, but rarely carried through since it usually ends up by haphazard wandering. These themes are repeated again and again. At intervals somebody is rescued. The mouse proves to be persevering, courageous and cunning. Even the reserved critic is compelled to recognize the mouse as the hero. Besides feeling amused he cannot help feeling admiration, the conscious content of which might be fused sooner or later with a more primitive excitement. At this point the critic is exposed to the danger of identification. It cannot be far away when we are looking at the vital little hero who is endowed with the ability to evoke admiration. Then, I suppose, the danger comes nearer and nearer and the process of identification is in *statu nascendi*. It is, as we know, one of the most important approaches to enjoyment, which we seek and find both on the stage and in the films. And it is identification, too, which after hours of happy or unhappy, or at any rate keen, suspense, brings us so often into a state of fatigue or irritation because the actual identification has left us. Then we are again alone with ourselves and, after the loss is to some degree overcome, we then deal with our daydreams in which the figure of our identification still plays a part. But it has become dim, less real. We need some effort to assume its shape. Difficulties arise from what we might call the "everyday super-ego". The process of disillusionment is especially apparent in theatergoers when, on their way home, some are silent, others talk about a thousand trifles, quite unrelated to what they have seen. Some suddenly feel very tired, and others even depressed. After Mickey Mouse films, however, I did not observe any of these phenomena.

Speaking of Mickey Mouse as an object of identification will undoubtedly arouse resistance. Could one possibly identify oneself with this something? The fact that he is an animal would not speak against it. Literature teaches us that poets and writers like to furnish animals with human character features and to have them talk about good and evil. Remember Aesop's and La Fontaine's fables and Goethe's epic "Reinecke Fuchs." But if one admitted that identification were possible, the material of the film, men-

tioned briefly above, is so ridiculously light that any concern with it later on would seem to be most unlikely. Even if we accept an identification process, the fact that we are not concerned with it later on is because our experiences are so fleeting and because they seldom leave the plane of visual entertainment to go more deeply. A little while ago I would have completely agreed with this view. But I couldn't imagine that such an extraordinary popularity could be based only on the fact that we find in these films an abundance of amusing fun, a series of bizarre phenomena of motion, and a complete disregard for the need of causality.

Popularity has almost always to do with the unconscious of the persons with whom something or someone is popular. In this case the content of the Mickey Mouse films cannot be so ridiculously light, it has the necessary weight to sink into the deeper layers of our mind. Are we not then more justified in calling Mickey Mouse a hero with whom one can identify oneself? And as far as identification is concerned, it seems to me not only that it is completed without effort, but I am even inclined to say that there are fundamental qualities in Mickey Mouse which particularly promote identification. We have here to deal with an unusually uninhibited process of identification. This may sound bold if not again paradoxical. But such a statement is prompted by the popularity, the international success of Mickey Mouse. Let us look at the hero a little more closely, at his physique, some of his physiological functions and certain actions which are characteristic of him. He has the head of a mouse, exaggerated, impudent, childish. The neck is missing. The body is round, fat, undifferentiated. Arms and legs are unnaturally thin, hands and feet unnaturally large. The body seems best fit for rolling on the floor and the limbs for flying through the air. The larynx contains a most peculiar voice, it is crowing, thin, without modulation and we are unable to tell whether the character is a man, woman or child. Let us not forget that Mickey Mouse was successful only after his inventor created this second voice.

Mickey's actions have impressed one fact upon us: he is an extremely gifted acrobat. But if we examine his movements from a more clinical standpoint we find that they often give a mechanized impression, they have something of the inanimate elasticity of a

rubber ball and then again remind one of a baby's first attempt at walking (in the waddling stages).

As to the contents of his actions, we spoke of wandering, adventures, but what we did not find are love affairs. I know that the hero occasionally rescues a heroine and embraces her. But the bodily forms of Mickey Mouse are so drawn that one immediately establishes the fact that they are ill-adapted to physical expressions of love. Embraces become more than ridiculous, arms fan the air in protestations of love, kisses are seldom exchanged, and are absurdly clumsy. I know that animals cannot kiss each other. But apart from the anthropomorphosis of Mickey Mouse, animals have tender and what seem to be convincing caresses which are not to be compared with the grotesque advances in these films. I should like to mention that savages and children often find the kisses of grown-ups amusing or disagreeable. At first we might think the omission of love-affairs was done intentionally since the film was produced principally for an audience of children and that love affairs, therefore, had been excluded. However, since we do know how interested children are in such things we can dismiss this idea. Nothing persists but the somewhat painful statement that our hero is unable to love, that he is someone who, from the point of view of genitality, makes no decisions because he does not need to. We have described his physique, motor expressions and voice. We know that when Mickey Mouse appeared with a man's voice he met with ridicule; with the eunuch's voice he met with laughter. That was an understandable reaction of the public, which knows how much the voice has to do with sex and with the structure of the body. Considered from the unconscious readiness for identification on the part of the audience this refusal was not only comprehensible but justified. Generally one does not like to identify oneself with what is confusing and therefore dangerous. But when Mickey appeared with his "apt" voice, he became definitely the representative of a lively, though neutral sex. We believe to have proved our statement that Mickey Mouse's fundamental qualities almost entice us to identify ourselves with him. And we hope to be justified if we say that the hero is a hermaphrodite. Identification is now established without effort and would be one of the explanations for his popularity.¹

1. If we take a little time to observe the anthropomorphism of this artificial

Seen from the conscious, these films even though they touch the realm of the grotesque, offer no difficulty for the thinking or phantasy of the adult. Seen from the unconscious the situation is similar. It remains innocuous for the object libido. This rather rare coincidence has some share in the popularity too.

In the process of identification, regression naturally plays a great part. Our readiness for regression is always mobilized when fun is made, when jokes are told or when practical jokes are performed. They are abundant in the Mickey Mouse films and, very often lead eventually to all kinds of sadistic explosions which satisfy us considerably. Having discovered an easy outlet for our aggressions we happily regress and urged by the asexuality of our gay partner we accomplish identification with him readily.

One fact, which almost always complicates matters in the process of identification, does not enter — the conscious or unconscious jealousy for the person with whom we try to identify ourselves. Competitive libidinal forces in our unconscious are here not provoked. Regardless of age we can well imagine the thoughts which arise in the observer's conscious mind — how wonderful it would be to jump around so, or, Mickey never seems to have a care, nothing ever seems to bother him. Such ideas are naturally controlled by the conscious judgment. In the unconscious no jealousy will arise, the definite sexual neutrality of Mickey Mouse takes care of that.

Here we might still add something about the smallness of our hero who, most of the time, is the tiniest character on the stage. How often during the process of regression do we experience the wish to be as small as possible. There are folklore love songs in which a lover expresses the wish to become a mouse in order to be able to slip unseen into the bedroom of his sweetheart. The wish tells us that the young man does not intend to do mouse and to look at him from the clinical point of view, we can easily discover parallels to certain types of dysfunction of the hypophysis as they have been described by Cushing and others. These types are characterized by the fact that they retain some of the softness and roundness of their infancy and may even suggest the feminine form. They are further characterized by increased fatness in the regions of the neck, breasts, abdomen and hips; and in certain special cases, by conspicuously thin arms and legs as contrasting to their plethoric and fat torso. The genitals are usually undeveloped, and consequently these types remain sexually infantile and indecisive. In respect to the anthropomorphism of Mickey Mouse, Disney has really created an endocrine type, which agrees with our hypothesis of the disturbed and deficient sexuality. As a curiosity in this connection: most experiments in the study of the hypophysis have been made with white rats.

anything bad. He would like so much to see, just to see. He is completely harmless. Well known are the tender names among lovers which stress smallness again — "little mouse" — very popular in German — "my baby, my little bit." There is an unconscious tendency to make the love objects temporarily asexual, in other words, to make them small. Seen from the unconscious of a grownup who really has regressed, smallness enables him to do forbidden things, almost entirely unseen. And does not our hero do forbidden things? Another attractive factor is that tiny Mickey is amazingly successful in his actions directed towards or against much bigger beings, for instance giants, who may represent parents. Seemingly invincible, they are surprised, overwhelmed and vanquished. We could very easily draw parallels to those fairy tales in which ugly dwarfs play an important part. In the folklore literature dwarfs are depicted and drawn with various characteristics, but with one that is characteristic of all. Their faces are unyoung, bizarrely deformed, puzzling. They often have white beards. Physical proportions are distorted. Yet something unites them, the element of asexuality.

Going back to our mouse, identified with his harmless person let us now consider the details and their meaning. In these films there is an abundance of possible interpretations, of which we will discuss only a few. If we try to characterize the qualities which all of the Mickey Mouse films have in common, we can say that they represent a child's world of wishes and fantasies; that there is unfolded a mechanized fairy-tale, the mechanized quality of which we are very much inclined to overlook, because the variations of the story are so closely involved with our own unconscious.

In contrast to most heroes, our Mickey resolutely follows the pleasure principle. When he comes strutting along, without a care, he communicates the simple and deep pleasure of existence. Suddenly something, however, arouses his curiosity which he attempts to satisfy then and there. He cannot refrain from inspecting and touching objects as well as living things. Then something may happen, something terrible for instance, but it in no way keeps our hero from doing the same thing when the next occasion arises. He is a happy child, not yet intimidated by knowledge and experience. To satisfy his desires is still the supreme law. Acting follows seeing without the interposition of thinking. It is exactly as child

psychology describes it. If we consider the phenomena from a more clinical angle, we might speak of scopophilia and tactophilia. Evidently they are pregenital drives. The question could come up whether this level counts for the heroes attractiveness and whether it might eliminate our hypothesis of his hermaphroditic quality. I do not believe this. Pregenital features alone would not be sufficient to explain Mickey's magnetic forces.

These incidents are the more delicate ones, corresponding quite well to the character of mice. More numerous and more conspicuous are the gratifications of the sadistic impulses of our hero. It is not at all easy to decide who is the aggressor, who the victim, but there is a tremendous amount of fighting and quarreling which may strike us consciously as monotonous but which does not seem to affect our unconscious in the same way. After the gratification of aggressive impulses conflicts and anxiety appear so that the desire and need for punishment now takes the stage. This is provided for in the optical medium of the films and we must admit that the unconscious desire for punishment is seldom completed in a lighter or more casual manner than in the Mickey Mouse films.

The hero goes through most harrowing situations. Because of his insatiable curiosity he finds himself in the mouth of a giant and struggles desperately against the torrential stream of beer which the giant is guzzling which carries him down into his stomach, only to make his escape again. At another time, Mickey Mouse, as circus director, tries to rescue the animal trainer from the ridicule of the audience which is made up of little Mickey Mice. Both are performing on a wire which the audience has charged with electricity. Both begin to burn and finally disappear in sparks. A few seconds later they reappear. These unique magic restorations have, in my opinion, a particularly profound effect on the unconscious of the observer. Death is denied and the sense of immortality is stimulated anew. The processes work very much as in a dream and illustrate the omnipotence of thought.¹ In the above-mentioned film, in which Mickey Mouse appears as the circus director, and

1. An often repeated dream of a patient who, as a child, dreamed for years with the same clarity the following: she sees a wood in which dwarfs are happily bustling about. Suddenly the trees and branches begin to move in snake-like fashion, fall down, entangle each other, and crush the dwarfs. The patient sees them flying about in bloody pieces. In some dreams she later sees the dwarfs, completely whole, in a palatial house.

which is particularly full of symbols, he falls from the roof of the circus tent into the water tub where the seals were supposed to do their tricks. Seized by jealousy, for he has returned to the womb, the seals jump into the tub where they stage a suffocating and horrible turmoil, which, when the tension is at its greatest, evolves into the familiar madly rotating spirals which are so often the momentary visual solution of these murderous encounters. Are they not representing a kind of world destruction; the end of the world? It is the rapid realization and fulfilment of destructive wishes in the visual medium. One might even say the pictures have the same time element as our thoughts. How ready are we to think and even to say that this or that city should be destroyed because our political opponent has won a victory there? How mad with rage we become when the material world does not cooperate with our desires, for example, when we do not succeed in driving a nail into a wall. At such a time we would like to destroy hammer, nail and wall. Geographical boundaries do not exist for our conscious or unconscious wishes for destruction. At one time it is a wall, at another, a world which we would like to crush.

In a playful vein, as in the nursery, these problems are acted out in the film. At the conclusion of this turmoil, the smirk on our face betrays the relief of having everything in its place again. Still another example in which reality and dream symbolism mix in an incomparable manner, is when Mickey Mouse has rescued Minnie from a terrible disaster, after which he greets her only with a handshake — which is an important detail for our hypothesis. An enormous, vicious bull approaches with bizarre leaps as they sit in the meadow. In order to rescue Minnie again, Mickey, the hero, like the Don Quixote of this strange anthropomorphic animal world, intuitively seizes a red cloth (Minnie's skirt, as I remember), wraps himself up in it, and disappears under the bulk of the charging bull, to crawl later cautiously out from under him. He outwitted the powerful father, he becomes incorporated and reappears with new strength.

Another uneasy situation occurs when Mickey gets entangled in an automobile tire, which he has been trying to put on at top speed. From dreams we recognize this special and particularly disturbing constraint: we want to run away and cannot, we reach for an object and unseen rubber bands hold back our arms. In

such instances we feel uneasy, but nevertheless the pleasure of really seeing the figure of our identification in such distress provides us needed relaxation.

It is worth mentioning that in these films, as far as I know, we do not find any examples of castration symbolism, which supports our hypothesis of Mickey's hermaphroditism.

We understand the attraction of these films from the way in which reality and fantasy are woven together; or better, the world of our conceptions of reality and that other world of fantasies and dreams. Reality and fantasy are no longer opposed, but they unite in a droll way through the medium of these jerky pictures. This unification permits the ego and the id to fulfill a number of their wishes simultaneously and in equal intensity and indeed in an animal-like disguise which corresponds so closely to dream mechanism. Considered from the esthetic point of view this unification of reality, fantasy and dream also indicates the artistic qualities of the film. One is justified in calling the Mickey Mouse films naive, childlike, and often childish, but are they not also a proof that a certain amount of naivete does not injure creativeness?

I should like to mention another factor which may also be responsible for their popularity, that is, the motor activities which we find in them. Besides the peculiar character of the motion there is such an abundance of violent motor eruption that one might call it a kind of frenzy or ecstasy of movement, which is conveyed to the observer. I know it sounds like a paradox to speak of the muscular joy of such thread thin little arms and legs. But if we consider that the Mickey Mouse films disregard all physical laws anyhow and that the hero attains success in his movements — which we laughingly admire — we need not trouble our biological conscience any further. To me there is little doubt that the muscular eroticism plays a very important part in this artistic, artificial, child's dream. The laws of gravity are denied and the enjoyment might be greater than when looking at acrobats, snake-men, or eccentric dancers.

I called the films an artistic, artificial dream. The word "artificial" was used because the Mickey Mouse films make use of tricks, photographing sketches instead of living things. The lens and other devices which produce the illusion of living movement

ought to make us critical. The illusion that something is alive which is not, the artificial imitation of things which were once natural, worries us if we have time to think about it. What worries us? It is what makes possible all these illusions and imitations — the machine. We speak of the machine age, the overpoweringly rapid development of which causes profound doubts and anxieties. Sachs considered the question why the people of antiquity, who were acquainted with mechanical things, did not develop the machine to a greater extent. He believes that the machine had for the people of ancient times only the attraction of a plaything, but also of the repugnance against the uncanny, and that their well balanced narcissism protected them from the "surrender to the goddess of the machine." Later, driven more strongly by the exigencies of life and by the wish to gratify his narcissistic impulses by demonstrating his power, in spite of all pressure, man again found the way to the machine. In the beginning man was the master or the happy subject of mechanical inventions; now he becomes, or at least seems to become, their unfortunate slave.

This brief digression into one of the most urgent problems of our time may seem strange, but we believe that the problem of the machine has something to do with our subject. The attraction of the Mickey Mouse films can be explained still further in that we find in them a mild attempt to ridicule the aforementioned goddess. Machines, the automobile for example, change themselves, at least partially, into animals whose faces often take on human features. This metamorphosis, or to put it another way, this momentary refinement, affords for those who are in any way concerned with the machine, a possibility of getting rid of their anxiety, at least temporarily. Moreover, this "playful inversion of the machine age" may border on our narcissism and may touch the neighboring region where the omnipotence of thought resides. The animation of things is a very ancient and serious game, and attributing to constructed and measurable things the infinite possibilities of living movement and expression gives a profound satisfaction. We are freed from the limitations of physical laws and formulae of whose perennial value our unconscious has never been convinced. This game of animation is achieved in varying degrees; it concerns the simple as well as the subtle. Here it changes a complicated machine, there a child, finding a root,

makes it his living companion for hours, days or even weeks. The expressionistic painter curves a house into a melancholy grimace trying to subdue its stable form. Immortal life alone in its ever changing expression should have a right to exist. It is an attempt to deny the division of living and lifeless, so obvious in reality, because it breeds anxiety. The unconscious tries to preserve the magic power of animation, thereby combating the Nirvana principle.

We still have to answer the question: is not the cartoon film the "trick" film, simply a new symptom, among others and more important ones, of the increasing dictatorship of the machine? The cartoon film does not even show real people; but we do not regard this as a symptom. We are much more inclined to regard the cartoon film as an uncomplicated representation of human ideas, often very simple ones, growing from the layers of the unconscious. One thinks of the plot, of the sketches, which are connected with the unconscious of the creator and his wishes to express himself.¹

Another example of the problem of the machine is illustrated when Mickey Mouse and two companions are ordered to repair an automobile by a dangerous looking, gigantic ape. They take it apart with incredible speed and after they have found the trouble, a buzzing insect, put it together again in mad haste without any sense of mechanics whatsoever. The ape thoroughly delighted to have his beloved machine in order again, swings himself into it, drives off, and then after half a minute the car explodes and with it the furious owner. The three heroes who had so completely disregarded the laws of mechanical technique, now return to their enjoyment of an idyllic life.

These are only a few illustrations which I have chosen from a mass of examples in these films. I hope that they are sufficient in explaining their popularity, at least from a certain angle.

Mickey's bodily appearance, his voice and his motor activity brought us to the idea of his hermaphroditism. The early failure of the film which we mentioned at the beginning, suggests another thought. For the majority of people, the mouse is a repugnant animal. The fear of mice is widespread chiefly among women.

1. One should consider, too, the precise detailed directions of a film scenario played by human beings, and how exact and controlled the work of the actor must be, directions which bind him closely to the machine — in this case, the camera.

How did the audience overcome this? The symbolic meaning of Mickey's figure is obvious. Symbolically, we should have to call it a phallus but a desexualized one. Mickey's actions and adventures demonstrate his lack of genital interest. His audience feels that and although he remains a mouse and a phallus, he does not stir up wishes which have to be suppressed and consequently he does not rouse anxiety.

In characterising our hero and his success, the psychiatrist will attribute it to his temperament. Mickey Mouse is, to say the least, a hypomanic and this unrestrained temperament has a definite connection with the comic and caricature content of the films.¹ The comic is evident. To Mickey's appearance one easily might associate that it is the caricature of a certain human type, small but pompous, urgently driven by the wish to have a word to say about everything. There is the manic element again. Mickey's companions and enemies do not lack the signs of caricature either, they all are sketched in an exaggerated manner. Kris says: "Caricature means freedom, but freedom to be primitive. This innermost primitiveness in style as well as mechanism, in tendency as well as in form, is the secret of the caricature's appeal." It easily applies to the Mickey Mouse films. At another place Kris considers the manic as the pathological correlate of the comic.

In the visual biography of our hero an incessant mixture of comic and caricature results. We enjoy the drastic comedy which arises when the ego frees itself from the bonds of the super-ego and allies itself for a short time with the id. We feel the freedom from inhibition and effort in this manic comedy. Who would not enjoy a situation in which the super-ego is deprived of all its rights; in which the wish-fulfilments are achieved in such a primitive fashion and in which the close relationship between our infantile fantasies, interpretations and explanations is shown?

But if we glance for a moment at the other creations of Disney, the colored fairy tales, we find immediately that we have to deal with the more sublime brother of the comic — with humour. In these, the super-ego again rules. Rescues are brought about not

1. The comic effect can also be explained by the purely phenomenological or formal manifestations. Professor Albers (Black Mountain College) for instance, ascribes it to the fact that the qualities of rubber are transferred to man and animal.

only through wild and comic jumping around, but also through well prepared and successfully executed actions, for instance in the Three Little Pigs. It is no longer the crude manic explosion but kindness, effort and considerate readiness to help. Our reactions to those films which regarded esthetically are really simple and charming illustrations of fairy stories, may have unsuspected depth and may even be mixed with sentiment. The super-ego brings about these effects. The Mickey Mouse film, on the other hand, is robust, fast moving and provocative of belly-laughs. The world is turned madly upside down, but beneath this surface turmoil serious laws exist, as serious as those which a child creates for his games.

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FERDINAND THE BULL

Psychoanalytical Remarks about a Modern Totem Animal

by

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I. Ferdinand, the individual

The case history of Ferdinand the bull, so far as he may be considered to be an individual and not an animal or social event, can be told in a few words:

"Once upon a time in Spain there was a little bull and his name was Ferdinand." All the other little bulls would run and jump and fight, "but not Ferdinand." He liked to sit quietly under his favorite cork tree and smell the flowers. His mother was worried about him but she understood him and let him sit there and be happy.

Ferdinand grew and grew, became big and strong, but still he liked to sit under the cork tree and to smell the flowers while the other bulls fought each other and nursed their ambitions to be picked for the bull fight. One day five men came to select the roughest bull to fight in the bull fight in Madrid. Ferdinand didn't care. Quietly he sat down — on a bumble bee which, in return, stung him. Ferdinand jumped up, puffing and snorting, behaving as if he were crazy. The five men were deeply impressed and took him away to the bull fight. The matador was scared stiff. When Ferdinand got in the middle of the ring he smelled the flowers in all the lovely ladies' hair and he sat down, quietly, and smelled. He would not fight and be fierce "no matter what they did." And so they had to take him home. "He is sitting there still under his favorite cork tree, smelling the flowers just quietly — he is very happy."

The illustrations show Ferdinand in his Spanish environment, a powerful towerlike castle in the back ground; — the small Ferdinand and the cork tree; Ferdinand and the bumble bee, his

sit-down strike in the bull ring, his home coming and his happy reunion with his cork tree.

There are two factors in the phenomenon Ferdinand which may interest the psychoanalyst. 1. What the artist expressed by the creation of a bull who refused to fight; 2. why this creation struck a response in the unconscious of so large a portion of the public, hitting apparently upon deep emotional needs; the answer to these two questions may reveal a contribution to the psychoanalysis of the comic and the humor.

The story of Ferdinand is the story of a little innocent calf, born in a paradisiac landscape of green pastures and beautiful trees, flowers and butterflies. Ferdinand gets older and stronger but he refuses to grow up. He remains an eternal child, knowing neither the obligations and conflicts, nor the challenge which is connected with the fate of being a bull. He does not regress; he simply remains locked in his happy innocence, nursing himself with the abundance of infantile pleasure. He gives up even his mother who acknowledged the perfect solution of his narcissism. The only friends, whom Ferdinand accepts, are the flowers around him and the cork tree behind him. There is a suspicious absence of any father figure.

The cork tree belongs to Ferdinand just as a shell belongs to a snail, they are inseparable. The tree appears in all pictures except that at the bull fight episode. Ferdinand's tree is unlike little Washington's cherry tree and also unlike Adam and Eve's tree with the sinful apples of knowledge. It is a cork tree and of a special kind, because the corks grow on it like fruits. They are drawn with special care, so plastic in detail that the onlooker gets the bodily feeling of touching them. This feeling is unique for cork feels like nothing else — if not, somebody may compare it with a thumb without a bone or with a limp penis. The feeling of uniqueness for the substance cork is connected with a comical quality of cork as an *idea*. Nobody can take it seriously, it is not heavy enough for that. It is wood and it is not wood; it falls down but it does not seem to have any weight; it floats on water which drowns everything else after a short or long time. In the illustrations of Ferdinand, the cork-stoppers, hundreds of them, hang down from the cork tree. Aimless but distinct, they look as if they were ready to be used as stoppers for bottles — suggesting in this way their symbolic meaning once more.

The physical qualities and the useful function of cork force the reader of Ferdinand to recognize its symbolic meaning as phallus. But it is a special phallus, a limp, a light, a useless and impotent one. This impotence is put into a comical contrast by the large and impressive number of corks and their union with an old, majestic, very protecting and erect, powerful tree which gives Ferdinand the background of serenity and power. It is as if Ferdinand possesses the silly (cork) but still impressive penis (tree) of his father.

Ferdinand, however, prefers not to use it. After having depreciated it by calling it a cork, he could not use it very well anyhow, but its possession makes it possible for him to resign in happy pacifism.

The tree is not only related to Ferdinand and his father. It is an old tree with large, deep, and dark holes, with its roots in mother earth, with its loving and shade-spending branches protecting little Ferdinand — it is, in other words, father and mother together protecting their only child in a very one sided — and that means pre-ambivalent way — a way in which only mothers love their sons. This tree is altruistic in its love for Ferdinand, giving but not taking, spending but not demanding, expecting no return which would be hard for Ferdinand to deliver. In a happy union with his family tree and with the landscape he lives in, Ferdinand grows strong. He is busy smelling flowers, indulging in this without guilty feelings, without fear, which is essentially unknown to him even in the situation of the bull fight. With all the pleasure of the suckling he drinks the smell of the flowers, his nostrils get wide, his eyes closed or even worse, half-closed, like the eyes of a woman in ecstasy. He is not bothered by this appearance because he does not know the difference between men and women. He only knows that this tree is *his* tree and his parents are unchangeably on his side. If someone should doubt that it is just the union of father and mother which makes the cork tree so important and gives Ferdinand his inner harmony and security, he may turn back once more to the first picture in the book "Ferdinand" and look at the castle, so very high, so very erect, so powerful with its high roof and towers, so continued into the sky by a high pile of clouds and so deeply cut by a dark canyon. Here we have again the symbolic expression of father's

powerful phallus with mother's gigantic womb, forming the background of this picture. From here the onlooker's eye is drawn into the foreground, into the center of the picture to the repetition of the same motif: little Ferdinand under the cork tree.

Ferdinand would not be a comical person but only an idyllic one if his happiness, innocence, and resignation would be achieved and kept without any conflict. The bumble bee stings him, of course, without malice, but in self defence because Ferdinand tried to sit on her. The sensible and tender-nerved Ferdinand reacts as if in danger of death (or mortal danger) with a terrific anxiety attack. To put it mildly, he over-reacts.

The fear of insects, especially stinging insects, is wide spread among many persons. After getting stung, the affected place gets painful swollen, red and hot. We know from dreams how terribly frightening insects may become and that the unconscious sees in the sting of a bee something like a poisonous dagger. Ferdinand jumps into the air like a girl who sees a mouse, and the artist does not forget to show that he even destroys flowers and a little branch off the cork tree. For a moment Ferdinand loses the symbols of his security.

The experts from Madrid take the shocked Ferdinand as a man in fighting mood and off he goes to the sacred ordeal of the bull fight. Mistaken for that which he wanted to avoid, he is to be killed in ritual forms. He gets all the fame and reputation of a primitive totem animal when he is thought to be ferocious and wild, dangerous and heroic, ready to fight and die like a guilty Oedipus.

"But not Ferdinand." He refuses to be made the dying king Oedipus, ready to die for his dreadful desires and deeds. The smell of the flowers in the ladies' hair is enough for him. He is not out for forceful defloration. He quiets down and does not confess intentions which he never had. He refuses to die and is taken home in disgrace. No one can be allowed to kill the totem who apparently refuses to be one. Back home, "he is happy" again.

II. Ferdinand as a totem animal

The book "Ferdinand" may or may not have been written for children but its interest is surely not limited to them. As a matter of fact it is one of these books which the *adult* accepts because

it is not dire. him but to children. Children like Ferdinand as an animal and as a bull but not as Ferdinand. They like it best just in all these situations in which Ferdinand is not behaving like Ferdinand but in which Ferdinand behaves like El Toro Ferocio. Ferdinand may be bought for 50¢ as a toy. In utter neglect of his true character, children play with him in the way in which Ferdinand does not behave and perform. They let him fight with everything. Because Ferdinand is made of iron — rubber he can stand it and belongs to the few indestructible children's toys.

Adults like to read this book to children telling them in this way that Ferdinand enjoys everlasting love, peace and happiness so long as he behaves like a nice little calf who does not grow up. In this case the book is used as a clear cut castration threat, like most famous books for children (Struwwelpeter, Alice in Wonderland).

Ferdinand found his way into the unconscious of the masses, the book became a perennial best-seller, he volunteered successfully as a movie star. He enriched the English language with a new word with the meaning "conscientious objector" and fell short of being a national hero. He is not heroic in the common sense of the word because he is not the super-man but a victim, he is not great but small, he has not the features of the sublime but of the tragi-comic and of the humorous. He cannot be called a hero nor can he be called a totem animal; in the usual sense of the word he is not a sacred symbol of the father and he has not the sacred fate and the ceremonial death of a totem animal but he had some of these features in disguised form, maybe in a form which is typical for our present time. Ferdinand is not only the son who successfully avoids the fate of Oedipus; he is also the depreciated father about whom the son laughs before he identifies himself with him. After all, little Ferdinand is not as harmless as he succeeds in making us believe. Helene Deutsch pointed out similar features in the figure of Don Quixote, and Jaekels is of the opinion that depreciation of the father and giving him the features of a son is the main motive in the creation of every comedy.

The heroic and beautiful beast of the bull fight is a totem animal symbolizing masculine power, fighting spirit, and pre-

paredness even to die. These features of the father totem are destroyed by Ferdinand who simply smiles at everything that father might have done in a similar situation. After depreciation of the powerful father and after laughing at him and his defeat, we can like and love him again. After the death of the totem animal we may incorporate him, identify ourselves with him and we are then ready to accept him as some form of an ideal. In the case of Ferdinand, it is the ideal of the sociable citizen. "You must be like Ferdinand in order to live in these days of bull fights."

Ferdinand is not a pitiful figure. Our super ego would not permit us to laugh if he was. According to Freud, laughter is aroused where energy is saved. In the form of wit, aggression is freed, in a form of the comic: thought; in a form of humor; emotion. We save the emotion of pity because Ferdinand is not unhappy. We laugh it off with tears in our eyes, so typical of true humor. After all, Ferdinand is the victor-like Charlie Chaplin, who also wins out through his innocence and naivete. He simply refuses to accept defeat by reality. Ferdinand and Chaplin, they do not believe in castration, always asking in moments of danger, "So what?" with disarming results. This is an overcoming of reality by the denial of its existence.

This denial must be made possible by certain reality conditions, otherwise the reader of the book or the spectator at the movie could not follow. The denial must be accepted as credible, it must be described convincingly. The special condition which enables Ferdinand to live as he lives and the reader to identify himself with him, is the inner security and harmony which he gains from the knowledge of possessing father and mother.

The collective unconscious accepts Ferdinand not only because of this but even more because of the unconscious recognition of a little Ferdinand in every one of us. We have all considered for a period of time, more or less seriously, with more or less successful and lasting results, avoiding the curse of being an Oedipus. During the psychoanalytic treatment a similar feeling may often be observed. When the patient is freed from his most disturbing symptoms he often is puzzled: freed to do what? On the couch with the psychoanalyst behind him, he feels like Ferdinand backed by the cork tree, quite satisfied and most certainly not going to move.

Ferdinand is by no means altogether castrated even though he does not enjoy manifest genital activity. He enjoys the sense of smelling with all the signs of real excitement. The childish paradise of Ferdinand is beautified by childish pleasures. Freud knew the importance of the suppression of the sense of smell in humans and he even states that man's turning away from the earth and his repression of the smell pleasures are "largely responsible for his predisposition for nervous diseases." Ferdinand does not make this repression, he enjoys smell and he does not even need to fight for it — partially because he does not take away anything from anybody by smelling and partly because his understanding mother does not mind it.

III. Ferdinand and the psychoanalysis of the comic and the humor

Sigmund Freud recognized humor as a regressive phenomenon: as a triumph of the narcissism, a denial of reality, a victory of the pleasure principles. In humoristic attitude, the super ego acts toward the ego like an adult toward a child. The super ego speaks a kind word of comfort to the desperately depressed and bewildered ego. The contrast to such benevolent attitude is the "Spartan attitude" (Franz Alexander) with which the sadistic ego demands sternly the fulfillment of unpleasant duties. Because of this relation between ego and super ego the humoristic attitude is possible within one and the same person, no listening third is needed (Kris). In the case of Ferdinand, the super ego demands are satisfied without much conflict; the kindness of the super ego is partially pictured in the tolerating mother who does not mind Ferdinand's strange behaviour and his smell perversion, and partially in the matador who does not kill Ferdinand when he refuses to fight back.

From the economic point of view the humoristic phenomenon is a saving of energy, a saving of emotion — again following Freud. Wit has a close relation to sadism, as Dooley pointed out, and humor has a close relation to masochism. Humor may be found where the Oedipus complex is going down under the weight of disappointment, fear, and guilt. The typical Oedipus complex, the tragic guilt about the Oedipus desires, are denied and displaced by Ferdinand; and this may give some more information about how the ego manages to be treated in such an unusually kind way by the super ego, as Freud suggested. The super ego is so kind because it is put aside by the desperate and aggressive ego. The ego relapses

into primary narcissism. In the case of Ferdinand, it regresses into narcissistic resignation. Ferdinand behaves as if the world were not real but, as he wishes it to be: peaceful. In this way, as Bergler describes it, the ego assumes the child's behaviour of inner freedom about logic, thought, and emotion: a repetition of life before logic and before the Oedipus complex, a life in happiness and in pleasurable mastery of word and thought. The opposite of laughing is not weeping. In the instance of humor, the laughter occurs with tears. As a matter of fact we seldom laugh about Ferdinand. Usually, we only smile, using in this way a sublimated form of laughter. The contrast of laughter is the shock. In psychoanalytic literature it is never pointed out that the harmless shock is the only form of comic about which the child in pre-oedipal age is able to laugh. Children are comical only from the viewpoint of the adults, they have very little sense for humor or wit. The pleasure in this phenomenon is originated later; the small child laughs only if it is shocked by the kidding adult. The child is all set to react with fear or even with panic, then suddenly realizes that there is no true reason to be afraid and finally discharges the activated energy in the form of laughter. The same procedure is repeated in the grown-up who listens to a witticism. At the beginning aggression is stimulated, the tension is increased; this aggression is felt as a shock or threat to the super ego. Then the primary process, a process of disguise similar to that of dream work is started. After the disguise the aggression, now dressed in the form of the witticism, becomes acceptable and is presented as a surprise to the conscious, the super ego may relax and may assume a kind attitude because it faces a harmless joke and is now able to discharge the energy no longer needed for a suppression in the form of laughter. The form of this disguise is of outstanding importance for the judgment which we pass upon the quality of the joke. We never judge the tendency of the witticism; we always judge the form of it. If the disguise is incomplete, then and only then the joke is called a bad one and the shock does not change into laughter; instead of that disgust or shame occurs.

The disguise of what really is meant in the story of Ferdinand seems to be successful. In the disguise of the little Ferdinand, a totem animal and a father figure is depreciated, humiliated, is

killed and revived in a form which is now acceptable even for a very strict Super Ego. This acceptance is not based upon special kindness of the Super Ego but is based on a desperate effort by the ego by means of regression, denial, negative hallucinations, and masochistic resignation. The aggression stimulated by all associations contained in the idea of being a bull is suppressed and the emotional pity for the castrated father is saved by the happiness of Ferdinand who succeeds in gaining a happy reunion between father and son, not even losing the mother's love. Smilingly we enjoy the mastery of the infantile past by infantile means. Then again after the reassurance of such an experience it is easier for us to subdue ourselves under the government of logic, rational behaviour, reality principle, and the super ego.

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A PROPHETIC DREAM REPORTED BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN

By

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It is not my intention at this time to attempt any complete dynamic analysis of Abraham Lincoln's character. Others before me have made some attempts along this line, but their efforts were not very successful, probably for the reason that the attempts at reconstruction were not well formulated and because readers, especially those who have a sufficient curiosity about the life and doings of Abraham Lincoln and other prominent personalities out of American history, prefer to maintain their own illusions regarding their heroes, and verbalized or printed material that may in any way tend to destroy those illusions produces an immediate loss of interest or even a critical and hostile rejection of any proof of what they interpret as signs of weakness of character.

Most of us prefer to think of George Washington as the Father of Our Country, a great soldier and general and a man of unquestionable honesty. We read and remember his farewell address to his soldiers as an example of sound judgment and remarkable foresight. If some one suggests that this masterpiece of constructive thinking was a product of the brain and pen of Alexander Hamilton, we may listen but continue to remain unconvinced. In a like manner, we prefer to think of Andrew Jackson as a strong masculine character, who was a pioneer in the settlement, construction, and expansion of our Democracy, and to forget the fact that he was a moody, "hot tempered" man who killed several men in duels. Most Americans remember Benjamin Franklin as a great publisher, inventor, and diplomat, forgetting or caring not to know that both his enemies and his friends often referred to him as the "old whore master."

At one time I had some ambitions toward making a careful study and an attempt at a reconstruction of Abraham Lincoln's character, but I very soon abandoned this fantasy because I felt that the task was too great and that probably there would be insufficient interest to warrant such an exhaustive study. Instead,

I turned my attention to a study of the neurotic impulses which impelled John Wilkes Booth to murder the President, and left to one side any discussion of the motives which prompted Abraham Lincoln — *to get himself murdered*. So in this paper I am not attempting even a superficial reconstruction of Abraham Lincoln's character but instead, to present sufficient factual material in such a way that the inferences or interpretations which I might make will be so obvious that their verbalization to readers of this publication would be superfluous.

To the people who lived, worked, or played with Lincoln during his two terms as President of the United States, his assassination was received as the fulfillment of an expectation rather than as a surprise. Lincoln had been warned, coaxed, and cajoled by his friends and political associates for the utterly careless manner in which he exposed himself to physical attack. Secretaries Stanton and Seward, his private secretary Hay, as well as Mrs. Lincoln had repeatedly pleaded with him to utilize more fully the personal protection to which he was entitled as the chief executive of the United States. Lincoln never disagreed with the arguments that were propounded in support of these warnings but, as was his custom, he ignored their advice and followed his own dictates. He usually followed this pattern in other things as well. His customary reaction to admonitions relative to his defiance of the rules and regulations as applied to the physical protection of the President of the United States was to chide or belittle the admonisher and then go about unprotected.

In this same connection probably no other President of the United States was so lacking in caution regarding personal interviews. Almost any one could obtain an appointment with him, and people who had grievances to present were given preference over friends and political associates.

On the very afternoon of Lincoln's assassination, Secretary Stanton took the President to task because of his carelessness, and threatened to detail a whole company of infantry to accompany Lincoln everywhere he went. Stanton called attention to the President's contemplated attendance at Ford's Theater and requested that he insure himself of adequate and ample protection. To this advice Lincoln replied in a characteristic manner, by requesting that Stanton detail his own aide de camp who was

working that night on some important war material. Lincoln was aware of the fact that Stanton's aide was almost indispensable in the War Department on this particular evening and undoubtedly made this request for the purpose of irritating Stanton.

On the night of his assassination, Lincoln attended the theater accompanied by his wife, a Major Rathbone and his fiancee, with one ex-policeman of "shady" reputation who was supposed to remain on guard outside the door of the presidential box during the performance. Actually this guard was not at his station when the murder was committed. I am stressing Lincoln's behavior in these respects because it contrasts so vividly with his "presentiments" and his verbalized, pessimistic attitude regarding his own fate.

Several times Lincoln publicly expressed the belief that he would not live through his second term as President. He often reported his "presentiments," fantasies, and even his dreams, not only to his intimate friends but to strangers as well. As far as I have been able to determine, he was the only President of the United States who made a common practice of taking people into his confidence regarding his dream and fantasy life.

Lincoln's habit of reporting his "presentiments" and dreams appears to have begun soon after his election to the presidency. At that time he said that he had the feeling that he would never take office. He predicted with some justification that his election would not be certified and that he would never be sworn in as President. The reason which lends some justification to this belief was that the sentiment against certifying him for the presidency was very strong in the South and by no means lacking in the North.

A bona fide plot to assassinate Lincoln during his journey to the Capitol was uncovered at about the time he departed from Chicago for Washington. Lincoln was warned of this plot, but it was only after he and his party reached Baltimore that he was persuaded to change his previously published plan of travel and to go by private vehicle from Baltimore to Washington, while his private coach and the remainder of his party continued as designated.

Lincoln claimed by inference that he could foretell the future. By that I mean he stated that he either dreamed about or had

"presentiments" that revealed to him the probable outcome of state problems and of impending battles. He attributed a prophetic quality to all his dreams. He claimed to have had certain recurrent dreams and said that following these dreams some important event of the war invariably occurred and that the event was usually one of a favorable nature. One of these recurrent dreams was the following:

Lincoln was in some singular, indescribable vessel
and was moving with great rapidity toward an infinite
shore.

The President claimed that he experienced this dream preceding the battles of Sumter, Bull Run, Antietam, Gettysburg, Stone River, Vicksburg and Wilmington.

When Lincoln reported and offered this proof of the prophetic quality of this dream in the presence of General Grant, he was reminded by the General that the battle of Stone River was not a victory, but a distinct defeat, for the Union army. Lincoln's reply was an admission of the truth of General Grant's statement but he said that, nevertheless, he *had* the dream preceding that fight.

The reporting of a dream that was repeated by Lincoln a short time before his assassination, one which was dramatically re-enacted very soon after its production, does not mean that I am attributing to Lincoln the same omnipotence which he claimed for himself. It is my desire instead to demonstrate how accurately this dream portrayed the unconscious wishes of Abraham Lincoln and how clearly the manifest content of the dream depicted his exhibitionistic and self destructive impulses as well as demonstrating the omniscience and denial of actual death by the dreamer.

The two men who most often warned Lincoln about his personal safety were Stanton and Lamon. Robert Lamon was an old and trusted friend of Abraham Lincoln and had been in close contact with him from the days of his early political strivings, up to and including his residency in the White House. Lamon had observed Lincoln's gradual rise to that of a world figure and a legend, and it was he who tried to understand Lincoln the dreamer. He saw Lincoln, "Believing, like the first Napoleon, that he was a man of destiny, and that he accepted certain phases of the supernatural."

To quote Carl Sandburg, "What Lamon thought or surmised

in this field had at least the value of the observation of an intimate." Lamon wrote: "Assured as he (Lincoln) undoubtedly was about omens, which to his mind were conclusive — that he would rise to power and greatness, he was firmly convinced by the same tokens that he would be suddenly cut off at the height of his career and the fullness of his fame. He always believed that he would fall by the hand of an assassin: and yet, with that appalling doom clouding his life, his courage never for a moment foresook him." Often, wrote Lamon, he heard Lincoln repeat the following lines from "The Dream," a Byron poem:

Sleep hath its own world,
A boundary between the things misnamed
Death and existence: Sleep hath its own world,
And a wide realm of wild reality.
And dreams in their development have breath,
And tears, and tortures, and the touch of joy:
They leave a weight upon our waking thoughts,
They take a weight from off our waking toils,
They do divide our being.

To Lamon, Lincoln spoke more than once of his failure to reproduce a double image of himself which he once observed in a looking glass while lying on a lounge in his own chamber in Springfield. In this image Lincoln had two faces; one face depicted "The glow of life and breath and the other shone ghostly pale white." Lincoln interpreted this illusion as meaning that he would have a safe passage through his first term as President but that death would overtake him before the close of his second term.

According to Lamon's study, Lincoln held the belief that "Every dream had a meaning if you could be wise enough to find it, your wisdom perhaps leading you at times into preposterous tricks and vagaries of human mind and frame." Lincoln held to the belief that the best dream interpreters were the common people, the children of nature, as he called them. He considered himself one of these. He contended that the very superstitions of the common people had roots of reality in natural occurrences.

The dream that I am reporting occurred in the second week of April, 1865, and therefore was produced just prior to Lin-

coln's death. I believe it is best told in the language of Robert Lamon, who wrote: "Lincoln kept this dream secret for a few days, until one evening at the White House, in the presence of the writer, Mrs. Lincoln and one or two others, he began asking about dreams and led himself into telling the late one that haunted him. Lincoln proceeded to tell of the dream by saying, 'It seems strange how much there is in the Bible about dreams. There are, I think, some sixteen chapters in the Old Testament and four or five in the New in which dreams are mentioned; and there are many other passages scattered throughout the book which refer to visions. Nowadays, dreams are regarded as very foolish and are seldom told, except by old women and by young men and maidens in love.' Mrs. Lincoln remarked: 'Why, you look dreadfully solemn; do you believe in dreams?' 'I can't say that I do,' Lincoln replied, 'but the other night I had a dream which has haunted me ever since. I am afraid that I have done wrong to mention the subject at all, but somehow the thing has got possession of me and, like Banquo's ghost, it will not down. About ten days ago, I retired very late; I was weary, fell into a slumber and soon began to dream.' The dream:

"There seemed to be a death-like silence about me; then I heard subdued sobs as if a number of people were weeping. I thought I left my bed and wandered downstairs. There the silence was broken by the same pitiful sobbing, but the mourners were invisible. I went from room to room; no living person was in sight, but the same mournful sounds of distress met me as I passed along. It was light in all the rooms; every object was familiar to me; but where were all the people who were grieving as if their hearts would break? I was puzzled and bewildered; what could be the meaning of all this? Determined to find the cause of a state of things so mysterious and so shocking, I kept on until I arrived at the East Room, which I entered. There I met a sickening surprise. Before me was a catafalque on which rested a corpse wrapped in funeral vestments. Around it were stationed soldiers who were acting as guards; and there was a throng of people, some gazing mournfully upon the corpse whose face was covered, others weeping

pitifully. "Who is dead in the White House?" I demanded of one of the soldiers. "The President," was his answer, "He was killed by an assassin!" Then came a loud burst of grief from the crowd, which awoke me from my dream. I slept no more that night; and although it was only a dream, I have been strangely annoyed by it ever since.'

Afterwards referring to this dream, Lincoln quoted from "Hamlet," "To sleep; perchance to dream! ay, *there's the rub!*"

I think it is fitting to close this communication with a quotation written by the man who reported the above dream: "'I had my ambitions — yes — as every American boy worth his salt has. And I dared to dream this vision of the White House, — I, the humblest of the humble, born in a lowly pioneer's cabin in the woods of Kentucky. My dream came true, and where is its glory? Ashes and blood. I . . . have lived with aching heart through it all and envied the dead their rest on the battle fields.'

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JOHN WILKES BOOTH: FATHER MURDERER

By

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The purpose of this presentation is to attempt a reconstruction of the character of John Wilkes Booth, the murderer of Abraham Lincoln: to show that the assassin was suffering from paranoia at the time of the assassination and that this murder was compulsively committed and represented the physical expression of an overwhelming, repressed patricidal impulse. Booth's act not only constituted unconscious father-murder, but represented unconscious suicide as well.

Modern text books on psychiatry define paranoia in a descriptive sense as a term applied to a person who presents usually rather clearly defined delusions of persecution which are supported and defended by the person. That is to say, these people are firmly convinced of the validity of their delusions. A more dynamic definition, according to psychoanalytic knowledge, would be: a state of mind in which a person projects on to others, particularly one single person or related groups of persons, his own unconscious, denied, destructive impulses or wishes.

The material available for reconstruction of the psychological processes that motivated John Wilkes Booth to assassinate Abraham Lincoln is extremely meager. Following the assassination a tremendous amount of material was published about Lincoln and very little about Booth. As often happens when the career of a greatly loved and respected character is ended by the hand of a rebellious member of society, there is a desire to forget both the manner of the hero's death and the individual who was responsible for it.¹ Following the assassination most of the private papers of John Wilkes Booth as well as those of his immediate family were confiscated and later destroyed by government secret service agents.

(1) Sometime after I wrote and delivered my thesis, a novel written by Phillip Van Doren Stern was published under the title "The Man Who Killed Lincoln." This book represents an excellent characterization of John Wilkes Booth and agrees almost entirely with my own views.

The material from which I have drawn my conclusions was obtained from the records of the trial of the conspirators, the known and accepted historical facts relating to the murder, the known facts relative to Booth's character, the letters of Edwin Booth, Asia Booth Clark's diary and the published and unpublished correspondence of John Wilkes Booth.

Near the end of the war a group of men plotted to kidnap President Lincoln and other members of his cabinet and at least one unsuccessful attempt was made to carry out the kidnapping of Lincoln. Those who were apprehended following the assassination of Lincoln were called the conspirators. They were: Louis Paine, David Herold, Samuel Arnold, Michael O'Laughlin, George Atzerodt, Edward Spangler, Madame Suratt and John Suratt (her son). Although John Wilkes Booth was undoubtedly a member of this group, his interests in the scheme centered almost entirely in Abraham Lincoln and the organized kidnapping plot was merely utilized (in fantasy) by him as an expression of his desire to obtain control over the president.

On April 13, 1865 General Grant had returned to Washington following the fall of Richmond and the surrender of the Confederate Commander, General Robert E. Lee. The war was over and the Washington newspapers published a notice to the effect that General and Mrs. Grant would accompany the President and Mrs. Lincoln on the following evening to Ford's Theater, there to witness a performance of the play, "My American Cousin." On this same night a new plot was devised. John Wilkes Booth was the originator and leader in this new scheme. The conspirators gathered, as was their custom, in the boarding house of Madame Suratt. A plan to kill President Lincoln, Vice-President Johnson, General Grant, Secretary Stanton and Secretary Seward was formulated.

As may be readily understood, this was an irrational last minute decision of John Wilkes Booth. When he realized that his previous plan was no longer feasible, he was faced with an irresistible compulsive need to express his murderous impulses. Booth had considerable difficulty persuading the other conspirators to follow his lead and, as history records, the president was the only victim who was successfully attacked.

Apparently General Grant learned something about this plot

because he suddenly cancelled the theater engagement and secured transportation to a destination considerably removed from Washington, giving no excuse for his sudden change of plans.

This same day (April 13) Secretary Stanton expressed an oft-repeated admonition to Lincoln regarding the president's carelessness and lack of caution relative to his own personal safety.¹ The president ignored Stanton's request, chided the secretary about what he termed an exaggerated fear for his personal safety and attended the theater accompanied by Mrs. Lincoln, Major Rathbone and his fiancee and, as an additional bodyguard, one Washington ex-policeman of doubtful character, whose duty was to remain on guard outside the presidential box. This ex-policeman had been transferred to the Secret Service at the request of Mrs. Lincoln over the protest of his superior. He had been cited for neglect of duty on several occasions. (Actually this guard was not on duty outside the box at the time the crime was committed, but he was later absolved of any complicity in the crime.)²

A few minutes before 10 P.M., according to a previously arranged plan, Booth rode up to the stage entrance of Ford's Theater and requested that Spangler, a stagehand and an old friend of the Booth family, hold his horse. Booth went in the stage entrance of the theater and inquired if there was a passage from the stage to the front of the theater. When informed that no such private exit existed, he went around to the front of the theater, talked with Joseph Buckingham, the doorkeeper, and referred facetiously to his not having a ticket.³ After a short conversation with another acquaintance he entered the theater. (I am stressing these details to show that Booth made no attempt to hide his identity, but acted quite the opposite.) After entering the theater Booth ascended the stairs to the president's box which was now unguarded. He entered the box, placed the muzzle of a carbine behind the president's right ear and fired.

Immediately following the explosion Booth shouted, "Sic

(1) Although Stanton, Seward, Lincoln's private secretary Hay, Mrs. Lincoln, and others had many times expressed their views along these same lines, Eisenschimme, in his book, "Why Was Lincoln Murdered," attempts to place the responsibility for the murder of Lincoln on the shoulders of Secretary Stanton.

(2) Historians disagree as to the whereabouts of the guard at the time of the murder. Some historians report that he was seated in the audience watching the performance, others place him in a nearby tavern.

(3) Booth being a recognized actor was entitled to professional privileges.

semper tyrannis." Major Rathbone leaped at the murderer with the intention of holding him but Booth quickly shifted the gun from his right hand to his left hand and with his right hand drew a knife and severely slashed Major Rathbone's arm. Then Booth jumped from the box to the stage, but as he did so the spur of his right boot caught in the American flag that draped the box. As he landed on the stage his leg crumpled under him and it was observed that he walked with a perceptible limp as he passed through to his waiting horse. He mounted and rode rapidly through Washington toward the bridge which crossed the Potomac River into Maryland. Here by prearrangement he was joined by David Herold.¹ Their destination was Richmond, Virginia, the war capital of the South where Booth believed he would be acclaimed a national hero.

This was the beginning of Booth's disillusionment — instead of being welcomed with open arms and hailed as a hero, he found a complete lack of enthusiasm for his deed. The people of the South were tired of the war and welcomed the cessation of hostilities. They feared that any action on their part which might seem to support or condone Booth's act would jeopardize not only theirs but the nation's peace and security. Therefore Booth had great difficulty in securing even adequate food and supplies and was forced to spend many nights in the woods, his only protection being some blankets that he was able to purchase. In addition to this he had broken his leg when he jumped from the presidential box to the stage of the theater and for several days was without medical attention.

Although the people of the South did not welcome him and would not ally themselves with him, they did not betray him to the authorities. After considerable hardship, the details of which are unnecessary in this paper, Booth and Herold arrived at Garrett's farm in Virginia. Although their demands for a room and a horse were refused, they were given food and permission to sleep in the barn. The two Garrett boys consented to remain on guard outside the barn to warn them of the approach of strangers. Booth obtained the guard and permission to sleep in

(1) David Herold, who was assigned the murder of Secretary Seward, was the only one of the other conspirators who actually attempted to go through with his part of the plot. He made an unsuccessful attempt upon Seward's life.

the barn by claiming that he was returning from active duty in the Southern army and was carrying out some important orders. It was here that a detachment of cavalry under the command of Lieutenant Luther Baker discovered their hiding place and surrounded the barn.¹

Lieutenant Baker ordered his men to surround the barn and commanded that the two men come out of their hiding place. Booth refused, stating that he would never be taken alive, but that Herold was willing to surrender. Permission for Herold to do so was granted. Booth then tried to bargain with Lieutenant Baker asking to be given an opportunity to escape and requested a hundred yard start. When this was refused and Booth reiterated his refusal to surrender, Baker ordered that the barn be set on fire. A few minutes later a shot was heard and Booth was seen to fall to the floor of the barn. Two or three men rushed into the barn, removed the body of Booth and laid him on the ground outside. It was observed that Booth had been mortally wounded, was in great pain and was partially paralyzed. He asked Baker to shoot him again, to put him out of his misery, but this Baker refused to do. As Booth lay there dying, he twice repeated the message, "Tell my mother I died for my country." Just before he died he held up his hands, looked at them and said, "Useless, utterly useless." These were his last words.

Historians record that immediately following Booth's death Lieutenant Baker who had been instructed to bring Booth back alive, turned to another officer and asked him why he shot Booth. The officer replied that he had not done so, *that Booth had shot himself*. Here history becomes very obscure regarding what actually happened. Boston Corbett, a mentally unbalanced religious fanatic who was later confined in a sanitarium, stepped out from the group and said, "I shot him." Baker asked him why he shot Booth and Corbett replied, "Because God told me to do so." There is good reason to doubt the truth of this confession. I am inclined to reconstruct the situation in the following manner: since Lieutenant Baker had to face the fact that he had not carried out the specific order to bring Booth back alive, he found it necessary to establish an alibi and Boston Corbett be-

(1) Booth was probably betrayed by a young Confederate officer whom he believed to be his friend.

came the "scapegoat." The reasons that Baker had been given these specific instructions were, first, that the Secret Service hoped to get information from Booth relative to the identity of the other conspirators and, secondly, to prove to the people that they had actually captured the murderer of Lincoln. It seems reasonable to assume that what actually happened was that Baker, recognizing Boston Corbett's mental situation, confronted him and made the statement that history records as being directed to another officer. The reconstruction then would be: Baker asks Corbett, "Why did you shoot him?" and Corbett replies, "Because God told me to do so." An examination of Boston Corbett's gun demonstrated that no shot had been fired from it. Another proof of the improbability of Corbett's confession is that of the accuracy that would be required to shoot from the outside through the cracks of the barn and inflict a fatal wound on a man inside the barn. Further there is a striking and probably a significant coincidence in the fact that Booth's wound was in identically the same place as that which he inflicted on Lincoln.

Following the capture and death of Booth there was much secrecy about the whole matter. Booth was secretly buried and it was only after several years that his body was turned over to his family. Booth kept a diary from the time he crossed the Potomac until his capture but only a very small part of this diary was ever made public. Secretary Stanton was accused of destroying it and Eisenschimmel utilizes this bit of evidence to support his theory of Stanton's disloyalty.¹ An interesting excerpt from the preserved fragment of Booth's diary is the following:

"Friday, April, 21—after being hounded like a dog through swamps, woods and last night being chased by gunboats until I was forced to return wet, cold and starving, with every man's hand against me, I am here in despair and for what? For doing what Brutus was honored for and for doing what made Tell a hero."

At this point I should like to reconstruct from the available material something of the historical background of John Wilkes Booth. He was the ninth of ten children, born to Junius Brutus and

(1) Robert Lincoln turned over to the United States Government a number of his father's papers with the provision that they not be opened until 1947, stating that they would reveal proof of treason by a member of his father's cabinet.

Mary Holmes Booth. He was born on a farm in Maryland about twenty-five miles from the city of Baltimore on May 10, 1838 and was therefore twenty-seven years of age when the crime was committed. Booth's father was one of the best known and most respected actors on the American stage. He was a close friend of Joseph Jefferson and was much admired for his Shakespearean characterizations. He made an outstanding success in the role of Asa Trenchard in the play, "My American Cousin." He was known as a moody, aggressive, unpredictable man. There were periods when he consumed large quantities of alcohol and was often in difficulties as a result. He was kind to his family while at the same time demanding absolute obedience. He spent much of his time away from home during which time he did not see his family. On one occasion he was away from home for nearly two years. Following these long engagements he would return to his farm which he dearly loved and would remain there in complete retirement refusing to see anyone but the immediate members of his family. In the face of confirmatory evidence he denied that he had Jewish ancestry. He was a strict vegetarian and was overly solicitous in his kindness to dumb animals.

Very little has been recorded about Booth's mother. It is known that she was an intelligent, cultured woman who held a Master's degree in Art. She was devoted to her family and gave the major part of her time to caring for them. It is well known that John Wilkes was her favorite. Edwin Booth, an older and the most successful actor-son of Junius Brutus (the elder), characterized John Wilkes as "his mother's darling." On several occasions Booth's mother publicly repeated a dream that she had experienced soon after John Wilkes' birth. The dream was to the effect that John Wilkes would sometime commit some terrible crime and would come to a very bad end. She would repeat this dream in John Wilkes' presence and at the same time point out how ridiculous and impossible of fulfillment it could be.

From an historical viewpoint the other members of this family who would seem to have played important roles in John Wilkes' development are the elder brothers, Edwin and Junius Brutus (the younger), themselves successful actors, and Asia Booth Clark, the younger sister who worshipped John Wilkes. Asia Booth kept a diary that furnishes the best available source of real informa-

tion about John Wilkes. Asia married an actor by the name of Clark whom John Wilkes accused of marrying into the Booth family for the purpose of furthering his own ambitions through capitalizing on the Booth name. The marriage was not successful and was dissolved. Following Booth's capture and death the Secret Service Department put Asia under constant surveillance even to the point of placing an agent in her home and of examining every scrap of written material in her possession. She suffered so many annoyances that she left the country and spent the rest of her life in England.

It is known that in childhood John Wilkes was a restless, nervous headstrong boy, a poor scholar who was probably a little below average intelligence. He was continually engaged in defiant pranks that got him into trouble with the authorities. His winning personality and his ready smile usually brought about forgiveness and the suspension of any punishment. One of his favorite pranks was to ride horseback through the streets carrying in his hand a long lance pretending that he was a knight of old. He would ride down the streets shouting, "I am Sir Galahad." Asia wrote that John Wilkes was always acting. It was not uncommon for him to attend a local stage performance and unrequested to mount the stage between acts and dramatically reenact some Shakespearean role, his favorite one being that of Brutus from Shakespeare's "Julius Caesar." Before he was fifteen years of age he had memorized many of his favorite Shakespearean roles and would enact these characters for his sister and mother. He usually ended his performance by asking them if they considered him as good an actor as his father. He never had any close relationships with men or women, although he was extremely popular with women. After he became a fairly successful actor, his handsome appearance together with his cultured, carefully rehearsed austere, dramatic manner made him a matinée idol. He never became emotionally involved with any woman although he was engaged to marry Bessie Hale. The motive behind this engagement was probably similar to the one he attributed to his brother-in-law. Bessie Hale's father was a prominent man in theatrical productions and this made it possible for Booth to secure advantages from an engagement to the daughter. Miss Hale was the only person who escaped the scandal coincident with Booth's

crime for the reason that she was taken by her father to Spain immediately following the assassination and did not return until after the scandal and publicity had subsided.

During adolescence Booth had the fantasy of writing his father's biography and collected many of his father's papers, theatrical announcements, playbills, programs, etc. for this purpose. He soon abandoned this ambition and burned all of his material. Presumably Booth had some ambitions toward becoming a soldier in the Southern army, but his mother extracted a promise from him that he would not take any active part in the war. It would appear that in the beginning of the war Booth was quite neutral and expressed very little, if any, opinions about its outcome. When he was questioned or chided about his own inactivity, he always referred to the promise he had made his mother and said that he intended to keep it. At the same time he was enjoying considerable success and receiving a very good salary for theatrical appearances particularly in the South where he was very popular. He was not so successful in the North because he could not compete successfully with Edwin who was a favorite with Northern audiences. He saved his money, made many wise investments and later used his money to aid the Southern cause. During his visits to the North he bought drugs, particularly quinine, which he successfully smuggled through to the Southern army.

As the war progressed and Booth saw the trend of outcome, he became obsessed with the idea that Lincoln was an oppressor who wanted to destroy the South and who also wanted to become a king. Booth verbalized this belief to many people. When his brother Edwin replied that he did not believe there was any justification for such an accusation, John Wilkes refused thereafter to speak to him. When other members of his family laughed at his delusions, he withdrew from all of them except Asia who apparently shared his delusion. Probably it was Asia's strong attachment that made it possible for him to convince her of the validity of his belief.

The conspiracy to kidnap Lincoln which was probably not original with John Wilkes Booth at all was utilized by him for the purpose of expressing his own impulses and led him to become a member of the band of conspirators. He and the other conspira-

tors deluded themselves into the belief that if they could kidnap Lincoln, take him to the South, turn him over to Jefferson Davis who, according to Booth, "Did not want to be king," then they could end the war and the South would be victorious. Coincident with the defeat of the South, the virtual end of the war and the return of Grant to Washington, there remained no logical rationalization for the carrying out of this plot. However the delusion that Lincoln wanted to be king still persisted.

It was at this point that Booth's true motives became evident. He instigated a plan to murder Lincoln, Grant, Johnson, Seward and Stanton and assigned to himself the murder of "the man who wanted to be king."

RECONSTRUCTION

A reconstruction of the unconscious motivations that lead John Wilkes Booth to murder the president of the United States can only be accomplished through an understanding of *the return of the repressed* destructive wishes. John Wilkes Booth was a pampered, spoiled child who spent most of his formative years in the company of his mother and his sister. The highly successful father and older brothers were away from home most of the time and when they returned were the objects of great admiration and respect. John Wilkes Booth's success as an actor was never completely acclaimed in the North and he often publicly complained that he was loved only in the South. The extreme envy and hatred of his father and brothers was expressed very early in life in his identification with Brutus from Shakespeare's "Julius Caesar." Booth's delusion that Lincoln wanted to become king was probably based on his early relationship to his own father the same as was that of Brutus to Caesar. Booth was extremely afraid of his father who was a stern aggressive domineering man and as a consequence repressed his hostility for the father and the older successful brothers as well. His paranoia developed on the basis of an identification of Lincoln with the father ("the man who wanted to become king") and his mother and sister with the South (his oppressed mother-country). With the return of the South to the Union like the return of the father to the mother following one of his long theatrical engagements there was reactivated in Booth's unconscious all of the repressed hatred that he had felt as a child for his father and his fantasy became that of resu-

ing the oppressed mother (the South). Booth's own identification with the oppressed mobilized the repressed wish to dominate the father. This wish was first manifested in the fantasy of kidnapping Lincoln and of taking him away from his own people. When the plot to kidnap the president and take him away from his own people, just as the theater took Booth's father away from his own family, became no longer feasible, Booth had to abandon this solution but was left with a compulsive need to express his unconscious father-hatred. When Booth entered the box occupied by the president and his wife in a place where his own father had made an outstanding success in the same role as the one that was being portrayed upon the stage and killed the man who he believed wanted to be king, he unconsciously murdered his own father (brother).

Booth murdered the man who for several years had been the foremost actor not only in Booth's life but on the whole American stage. As Booth shot Lincoln, he uttered the same phrase used by Brutus when he stabbed Caesar, "Sic semper tyrannis." This is also the slogan for the state of Virginia, Booth's home state. When he leaped to the stage where his father had been an outstanding success, he became for this moment and for several days thereafter the foremost actor on the whole American stage. He had reversed the roles and became the center of attention of both the North and the South. His unconscious guilt in reaction to these compulsive murderous impulses lead to such illogical reasoning that he actually believed he would become a national hero. He bemoaned the fact that his dearly beloved South had turned against him.

The phrase "Mother, I died for my country" may be translated, "Mother, I killed my father because of you." The reference to his utterly useless hands demonstrated his complete failure to adjust his unconscious to reality. He could not successfully manipulate reality to conform to his own unconscious strivings, but it is interesting to note how dramatically he did manipulate reality so as to completely justify and fulfill the dream which his mother had repeated to him when he was a little child.

Coincident with the murder of Abraham Lincoln, John Wilkes Booth unconsciously committed suicide. His belief that he would be protected and even acclaimed a hero was an ir-

rational delusion. He made no attempt to disguise his identity because he unconsciously knew that this act would produce quick retaliation in kind. He completely suppressed or repressed the fact that the people of the North and South were brothers, that they were extremely happy to end the war and that to all intents and purposes the nation had returned to its former united situation. As so often happens when a strong compulsive sadistic impulse is physically expressed in reality, an equally strong self-destructive impulse manifests itself in the same act.

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THE DRAGON AND THE HERO (Part Two)

by

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IV. THE GORGON

We shall now proceed to explain what we mean by the transformation of the theme from the inside that is from the Id.

The oracle has warned Akrisios to beware of his grandson as he was destined to kill him. His daughter Danae is cast into a tower but impregnated by Zeus in the form of rain of gold. She gives birth to Perseus. The grandfather has his daughter and grandson put into a chest and cast into the sea. They float to the isle of Seriphos and are fished out of the water by Diktys, the brother of Polydektes who is the ruler of the island. The king falls in love with Danae and tries to get rid of Perseus. At a feast Perseus asks the king what present he would care for and when the king replies "a horse" Perseus says, "Anything you desire even the head of the Gorgon." Next day all those who were invited to the feast bring the king a horse but he rejects the horse offered by Perseus and asks for the Gorgon's head, threatening that he would have intercourse with the hero's mother if he failed in his task.

In the far west beyond the Ocean near to the Land of the Dead and the Island of the Immortals there lived a terrific female monster called Gorgo, The Roarer. Her face was round and had an angry look. Her locks were serpents and in her mouth she had boar's tusks. Her eyes were wide open and lightning came out of them. Anybody who caught sight of her or was struck by the lightning from her eyes was petrified immediately. This monster had been made pregnant by Poseidon and this was the only time she had had intercourse. Perseus was sent out to destroy the pregnant Gorgon. He found her sleeping beside her two sisters in a cave and cut her head off with his sickle. In this moment Chrysaor a god with a golden sword and the winged horse Pegasos jump out of the Gorgons body. Suddenly the two sisters of Medusa¹ awake and their roaring and weeping is terrific when they see what has happened. They pursue Perseus but he manages to escape. He petrifies

1. This is the name of the only one of the Gorgons who is mortal.

Atlas with the Gorgons head, rescues and then marries Andromeda who was exposed to a sea monster. The wedding feast is interrupted by Phineus, Andromedas uncle (fathers brother) to whom she had been betrothed. Phineus claims to be the deliverer but he and his followers are petrified by the Medusas head. Returning to Argos his original home he restores his grandfather to power. Akrisios had been dispossessed by his brother Proteus. Then he goes to Seriphos saves his mother Danae from Polydectes whom he turns to stone and gives the realm to his brother Dictys. Finally he kills his grandfather accidentally with a quoit.¹

The Gorgon or Medusa reappears in the folk-tale of "the two brothers" which is the "Marchen" form or prototype of the Perseus myth. In Grimms version of the story, the hero, after having killed the dragon and overcome the impostor follows a white bird and is petrified by an old hag who sits on the top of a tree, to be restored subsequently to life by his brother with all the others who had been petrified before by the witch.² In a version from the isle of Malta the wicked fairy gives her visitors a drink that kills them. The third brother kills the old woman and revives his brothers and all the other people she has killed with the water of life.³ The power of the witch is in her hair.⁴ In a Greek story the hero has killed the dragon or rather his dog killed the dragon for him. He is thirsty and asks an old woman for water. She is afraid of his dog and when he permits her to dispose of the animal she petrifies him and his horse.⁵ In the Lorraine tale the witch and the seven-headed dragon are identical.⁶ In a story from Little Russia the petrifying witch is the Baba Yaga and she is also an old snake.⁷ In a Gascogne story the witch betrays her relationship to the dragon by the motive of "swallowing" the hero. When he pulls out a hair from his head and passes it through a hole in the door for the cat the earth swallows him.⁸ In a Swedish

1. Cf. Perseus in *Roschers Lexikon* III. 1986 - 2059 and E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*. I. 1-3.

2. Grimm, *K. U. H. M.* No. 60.

3. B. Ilg, *Maltesische Marchen und Schwanke*. 1906. I. 100.

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K. Brugman, *Litauische Volkslieder und Marchen*. 1882, 544, 548.

7. Hartland *Legend of Perseus*. 1894. I. 22.

8. M. J. F. Blade, *Contes populaires de la Gascogne*. I. 277.

version the Medusa-witch is the dragons sister in a Danish tale she is the sea-monster's mother.¹ In an Italian story the Medusa-witch is a golden horned snake² and in a Lettish variant she is the mother of the nine-headed devil.³ In a Highland story the mermaid who takes the place of the Medusa-witch swallows the hero. Then she vomits the hero and swallows his wife instead.⁴ In another version noted by the Grimm brothers the witch is compelled by the younger brother (as usual) to tell him how to restore his brother to life. And this is the secret. The whole evil magic is caused by a wicked serpent. The serpent lies hidden under a stone. When it is cut to pieces and roasted the petrified brother is anointed with the grease and thus revived.⁵

The "Marchen" variants make it quite clear that the woman of a formidable aspect, the old hag or witch is but a duplicate of the dragon. The Perseus myth on the other hand clearly shows the "body destruction" element that underlies the story. A, the hero is sent out to kill a pregnant woman. B, when he kills her "good body contents" Chrysor and Pegasos jump out of her body. In the "Marchen" as we have seen above the serpent is *cut to pieces* and its *grease* restores the hero. In the Highland story of the swallowing mermaid the hero has been promised to this mermaid before her birth. He obtains his helpful animals by dividing the carcass of an old horse (body destruction) between a lion, a wolf and a falcon.⁶

In Greek myth the Gorgons or "Roarers" are the daughters of the sea beings, Phorkis and Keto. The monster to whom Andromeda is promised is sent by Poseidon (husband of the Gorgo) and is called a *katos*. Roscher observes "*Dieses Ungeheuer aber ist wohl nur eine sozusagen ostliche Variante der furchtbaren Gorgo der Tochter der kntw, welche Perseus am westlichen Okeanos erlegt.*"⁷ J. E. Harrison shows that the Gorgon, the Ker, the Harpy and the Siren are all offshoots of the same stem we

1. Hartland, *I.c.* I. 33.

2. Hartland, *I.c.* I. 41 (Comparetti).

3. Hartland, *I.c.* I. 43. Auning. *Über den lettischen Drachen Mythus.* 1892, 79.

4. L. F. Campbell. *Popular Tales of the West Highlands.* 1892. I. 93.

5. Bolte-Polivka, *K.U.H.M.* 1913. I. 533.

6. Hartland. *Legend of Perseus.* I. 47.

7. Roscher in Roschers Lexikon Article *Andromeda* I. 347. See also Articles *Perseus* and *Gorgons* and W. H. R. Roscher, *Die Gorgonen und Verwandtes.* 1879.

should say of anxiety embodied in a female shape. Odysseus in Hades is terrified by monsters of this kind.

*Ere that might be the ghosts thronged round in myriads manifold
Weird was the magic din they made a pale-green fear gat hold
Of me, lest for my daring Persephone the dread*

*From Hades should send up an awful monster's grizzly head¹
And the Gorgons are the sisters of the Graiai who are equally
three daughters of Phorkys and Keto*

*Pass onward o'er the sounding sea
Till thou dost touch Kisthene dreadful plains wherein
The Phorkides do well, The ancient maids
Three, shaped like swans having one eye for all
One tooth—whom never doth the rising sun
Glad with his beams nor yet the moon by night
Near them their sisters three, the Gorgons, winged
With snakes for hair, hatred of mortal man
None may behold and bear their breathing blight.²*

J. E. Harrison reproduces a vase-painting from a large black figured vessel in the Berlin Museum (Cat. 1682, Arch. Zeit. 1882 Pl. 9) in which winged demons inscribed as Harpies form part of a scene called the slaying of Medusa showing therefore that these Harpies are Gorgons. On another vase (fig. 19) also in the Berlin Museum (Cat. 2157 Jahrbuch d. Arch. Inst. I. p. 210) we see an actual Gorgon with the typical Gorgon's head and protruding tongue performing the function of a Harpy i. e. of a Snatcher.³ But Harpies and Sirens, the Ker and the Gorgon and the Sphinx they all represent the anxiety distorted image of the mother, the retaliation aspect of body destruction phantasies. They have claws to rend the body open, to tear it to pieces and to carry the luckless soul they take out of the corps to a gloomy land of the Hereafter.

*The blue-back Keres, grinding their white teeth,
Glaring and grim, bloody, insatiable;
They strive round those that fall, greedy to drink
Black blood, and whomsoever first they found
Low lying with fresh wounds, about his flesh
A Ker would lay long claws and his souls pass*

1. Od. XI. 633. J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*. 1908. 191.

2. Aesch. Prom. Vinct. 793. Harrison, *I.c.* 194.

3. Harrison, *I.c.* 177.

*To Hades and chill gloom of Tartarus¹
 With claws like vultures all these beings prey on
 their victims.²*

One of the demons of this group is the Sphinx³ ultimately identical with the heroes mother Jokaste.⁴ Another function of the Harpies links them very closely with the Keres. The Harpies not only snatch away souls to death but they give life, bringing things to birth. A Harpy was the mother by Zephyros of the horses of Achilles.⁵ As such a Harpy, half-horse, half Gorgon-woman Medusa is represented on a Boeotian vase of very archaic style in the Louvre.⁶ The ambivalent aspect of the Keres is directly expressed in the Greek epithet of *oixoioilikipes*. And Achilles says (Il. IX. 410.

*My goddess-mother, silver footed Thetis
 Hath said that Keres twofold bear me on
 To the term of death.⁷*

The epithet of *keritrepheis* (Ker nourished) might mean men nourished for death but J. E. Harrison doubts this interpretation and she believes that each man has a Ker within him the thing that nourishes him and keeps him alive, a sort of fate as it were on which his life depends and thus "Ker-nourished" would be the antithesis of slain by Keres.⁸

The Aztec myth of the birth of the war-god Uitzilopochtli is a very close parallel to this myth of the birth of Pegasos or slaying of the Gorgo. Uitzilopochtli was born on the Serpent Mountain and his mother was Coatlicue (Robe of the Serpent). His brothers were the four-hundred Uitznaua (southern ones) and his sister was Coyolxauhqui. A feather ball makes his mother pregnant and then the four-hundred Uitznaua are angry and they agree with their sister to kill their mother. The child in her womb consoles her and tells her she has nothing to be afraid of. In the moment when they are about to attack their pregnant mother Uitzilopochtli

1. Harrison, *l.c.* 185 Hes. *Scut.* 249.

2. G. Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Litteratur und Kunst.* 1902. 6, 36.

3. Harrison, *l.c.* 207.

4. Cf. Roheim, *Riddle of the Sphinx.* 17.

5. Medusa — Gorgo is also the mother of the horse Pegasos.

6. Harrison, *l.c.* 179. *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* XXII. 1898. Pl. V.

7. Harrison, *l.c.* 175.

8. Harrison, *l.c.* 185.

is born in full war equipment with shield, spear and everything. A helpmate of his sets fire to a "fire serpent"¹ and with this the god shatters his sister Coyolxauhqui and cuts her head off. Her body rolls off the hill, and her limbs roll down the hill in various directions. Now he chases his brothers the 400 southern ones. He kills his brothers, and deprives them of their ornaments which he now wears himself.²

Another version of the Story is in the *Cronica Mexicana*. The wandering ancestors of the Mexicans come to a place called Serpent-mountain. There according to the counsel of their god they build a city exactly like Mexico-Tenochtitlan. A pyramid is erected in honour of this god and a court for the ball game with a triangular hole in the middle. This they fill with water "as a sign." The god Huitzilopochtli who remains invisible talks to them all the time and tells them that the red worm *iz cahuitl* which dwells in this water is his flesh and blood.

Then the god suddenly gets angry and declares that the Centzon napam, the Mexicans are in an uprising against him and that they are *eating their fathers* "on the court of the ball game." Then he kills Coyolxauhqui and cuts her head off. Next morning the Centzon napam the Mexicans find that they are empty because Uitzilopochtli who had transformed himself into a sorcerer has *eaten their hearts* (the general term for killing by magic). Then he broke the stream of the source of water (this is the meaning of the mystery of the *techtli*, the ball-game) and this became a great lake. He made a hole in the lake and all the water disappeared as well as the birds, fish, trees. Everything was dry and disappeared like a mirage.³ In explaining the Jonah type of stories we have good reason to conjecture that the myth uses the technique of inversion that the people *rescued* from the inside of the monster are really the *siblings* cut out of the mother's body in the infantile body destruction phantasies. In some cases I have found phantasies in which the infant projects his own aggression to the unborn

1. I. E. serpentine lightening.

2. Cf. A. Balint. *Die mexikanische Kriegs hieroglyphe atl-tlachinolli*. *Imago IX* - 428.

3. A. Balint, *l. c.* 429. Cf. also Krickeberg, *Marchen der Azteken*. 1928. (*Marchen der Weltliteratur*) 85. I. Spence, *The Myth of Mexico and Peru*. 1913. 70. Ed. Scher, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach und Altertumskunde*. III. 221. 305, II. 10004.

sibling who is represented as a monster in the womb or cutting his way out of the womb. I think therefore that the same principle might be useful in interpreting this myth. All we have to do is to interchange the positions and everything will be quite clear. Uitzilopochtli is outside and the "four-hundred" in the womb. The beheaded sister-goddess Coyolxauhqui is probably fundamentally identical with Uitzilopochtli's mother Couatlicue "the woman with the serpent garment."¹ Uitzilopochtli the war-god is the boy who is opening his mother and cutting his brothers the "four-hundred of the south" out of his mother's womb. All the "good body contents," disappear when he has accomplished his deed there is no water, no birds or trees. The souls of mothers who died in childbirth were a special category of demons who were also identical with the earth goddess. The name of these beings is Ciuacoatl c.e. "serpent woman"² who makes our interpretation of Uitzilopochtli as the god who rips his serpent-mother open and cuts his siblings out of her womb, highly probable. We should take into consideration that in this culture captives were sacrificed by having their hearts cut out, that, to be killed by a sorcerer, means to have ones heart cut out and there is a parallelism between the souls of dead warriors and the souls of women who died in childbirth. War is dramatized body destruction phantasy. The enemy is represented in the hieroglyphe by one of the towns and the town is represented by a mountain³ with a huge open mouth struck by the spear of war and with water and blood gushing forth out of the jaw or wound. The hieroglyphe for war is Atl-tlachinolli "water-burnt" represented by water a burning house and a small human figure in the house or burning house with a squatting tiny human figure inside and a basin of water.⁴

1. This interpretation is borne out by a parallel myth in which the god Ce acatl (Quetzal-coatl) kills his mother by being born. Ed. Seler "Die Sage von Quetzalcoatl und die Tolteken." *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach und Altertumskunde*. V. 1915, 192.

2. A. Balint, *l. c.* 417. On the identity of the Serpent woman and the mother of Uitzilopochtli see K. Haebler, *Die Religion des mittleren Amerika*. 1899. 69.

3. Corn as a "good object" is enclosed in the "Mountain of Food" which is then opened by the god of lightning. E. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*. 1915. V. 186.

4. Cf. Balint, *Die mexikanische Kriegshieroglyphe atl-tlachinolli. Imago*. IX. 428. The extraordinary emphasis put on the women who die in childbirth and their subsequent apotheosis (reparation) clearly indicates body destruction as the basic phantasy of this culture. The four hundred star-gods (Mimixcoa) have as their female counterpart the spirits of the women who die in childbirth. On the other hand the four-hundred are devoured by the female demon Itzpapalotl (Obsidian-butterfly) excepting one of them,

We have therefore good reasons to regard the birth of Uitzilopochtli as a parallel myth to the birth of the Pegasos. We resume the discussion of the Gorgon with the ritual aspect of the myth. The Gorgoneion is a mask that is making an ugly face. In the museum at Athens we find such a Gorgon mask guiding the entrance of an oven.¹ On other ovens we might find Phobos or fear itself or it might be a Satyrs head or a Cyclops or an owl. These protective demons or masks shield the object, the oven against themselves.

If you but pay me my hire, potters, I sing to command
 Hither, come hither Athene, bless with a fostering hand
 Furnace and potters and pots, let the making and baking
 go well

Fair shall they stand in the streets and the market,
 and quick shall they sell

Great be the gain but if at your peril you cheat me my price
 Tricksters by birth, then straight to the furnace I call in a trice
 Mischievous imps one and all, Crusher and Crashier by name
 Smasher and Half-bake and Him who burns with

Unquenchable Flame

They shall scorch up the house and furnaces, ruin it,
 bring it to nought

Wail shall the potters and snort shall the furnace,
 as horses do snort.²

Bronze foundries are protected by comic figures (jexotd) modelled on the furnace to avert ill will. These little images are also charms against the evil eye and the Gorgons mask is one of these.³ We find the image of the Gorgon wherever it can be used as a protection against the evil eye. Pisistratos has a huge Gorgoneion made on the wall of the Akropolis, and the same image protected the Kephios at Argos. We find it on a gate in Nikaia, on a theater at Myra and on many houses at Pompeii. The Medusa-head as a protective decoration is very popular on all kinds of

the "White Cloud Snake" who then revives his brothers and kills Itzpapalotl. In the "Historia de Colhuacan y Mexico" one of the Mimixcoa drinks the blood of a double-headed deer woman, has intercourse with her and then "the woman ate his heart out of his body" Ed Seler, Die Sage von Quetzalcoatl und die Tolteken. *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach und Altertumskunde*. V. 1915. 191.

1. J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, 188. (Fig. 27, 189.)

2. Hom. Epigr. XIV. (Harrison, *Prolegomena* 190).

3. Harrison, l. c. 191.

objects, but especially so in the inside of cups. This was a protection against the evil eye for the drinker. While drinking he would look at the image and then he would not be affected. Eyes might be added, or two magical eyes would be transformed into Gorgoneion by inserting a nose between them and horns might also be added.¹ Ridgeway believes that the Gorgoneion on the aegis of Athena was the head of the slain beast whose kin was the raiment of the primitive goddess.² The goddess who bears the image of the monster, on her shield, or on her breast is Athena, the slayer of the Gorgon—and herself a Gorgon. For the goddess is gorgopis or even gorgo.³ As goddess of war she is the inventor of the flute used in war and these flutes are said to imitate the hissing of the serpents made by them when the head of the monster is severed.⁴ The parallel between the birth of Athene and the death of the Gorgon is quite striking. Metis, wife of Zeus is pregnant. Zeus swallows her and his daughter is born through his head which has been cleft by an axe by Prometheus or Hephaistos.⁵ The war cry of Athena corresponds to the howling of the other two Gorgons or the hissing of the serpents. The neck or the head is cut and birth takes place in full armour or fully grown in both myths. Moreover just as Athena is the Gorgo whom she slays she is also Pallos or Pallas Athena and Pallas is one of the giants killed by the goddess.⁶

To trace the history of the development of this goddess is perhaps even more significant than the political history of Athens.⁷ It is the history of sublimated anxiety of a reparation phantasy that follows body destruction anxiety. The birth of the Goddess of Wisdom fully armed, has often been interpreted as signifying a sublimation of birth, the birth of an idea. The derivation of the goddess from body-destruction or aggression makes her the goddess

1. S. Seligman. *Der Bose Blick und Verwandtes*. 1910. II. 306.

2. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, 192. quoting Ridgeway *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. XX. 1900. p. XLIV.

3. Roschers Lexikon *Athena* I. 677. Roscher compares Gorgomai to the sanskr. gajr- schreien, drohen. W. H. R. Roscher, *Die Gorgonen*. 1879. 59. On the identity of Gorgo and Athena see Gruppe, *Grchische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*. 1906. I. 1141, II. 1197, 1201.

4. Same article 680.

5. Same article 676.

6. Roschers Lexikon. I. 677.

7. Cf. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, 302 (The history of the goddess is the history of the town).

of war par excellence. She mounts the chariot of her favorite heroes and follows them to the battlefields as their protecting genius. But in her person she represents virginity, she is the untouched goddess, the protector of the impregnable city, the negation of body destruction. She is the Tyche, the Fortune of the City, the city itself.

The grace of the town that hath on it for crown
 But a head-band to wear,
 Of violets one hued with her hair
 For the vales of the green high places of earth hold nothing
 so fair

And the depths of the sea know no such birth of the
 manifold births they bear

Athens is a city
 Based on a crystalline sea
 Of thought and its eternity¹

In all her other activities excepting war, she represents reparation, or at any rate the opposite of body destruction Athens is the country of the olive tree.

And this country for her own has what no Asian land
 has known

Nor ever yet in the great Dorian Pelops island has it grown
 The unintended, the self-planted, self defended from the foe
 Sea-gray children—nurturing olive tree that here delights to
 grow

None may take nor touch nor harm it, headstrong youth
 nor age grown bold

For the round of heaven of Morian Zeus has been its watcher
 from of old

He beholds it and, Athene, thy own sea-gray eyes behold.²

Poseidon strikes the rock with his trident and Athena answers by the growth of the olive tree.³ Poseidon is mated to the Gorgo but Athena is differentiated from the foundation of aggression-anxiety; she counters by making something that nobody dare touch. She is the Goddess of spinning and weaving and maker of garments

1. Hom. Hymn. XXVIII. translated by MacColl Harrison, *Prolegomena*. 302.

2. Harrison, *Themis*. 175. (Sophocles, Oed. Col. 104)

3. *Athene* in Roschers Lexikon.

and especially of Wisdom and Reason—that is of sublimated anxiety.

We have followed the development of the goddess from body destruction through anxiety to sublimation. It remains to see whether we can find traces of her hypothetical pre-history.

Following Roscher we have assumed an original relationship of the Gorgon and the Kitos, the sea monster. The Gorgon's locks are evidence of a serpentine past or at least of the interrelation between serpent and Gorgon. Athena the goddess we find in like company. When the Persians besieged the citadel, the guardian snake left the honey cake that was its monthly food untouched and the Athenians thought the goddess had forsaken the citadel.¹ A red figured lekythos at the National Museum of Athens represents Athena with a snake of nearly equal size and majesty a kind of double of the goddess.² This is as it should be, for the sacred kings of Athens, a Kekrops and an Erichtonios, were serpents. Athena had been promised to Hepheistos by Zeus. He nearly succeeds in having intercourse with her but she keeps her virginity and his semen drops to the earth. From the Earth Erichtonios is born and brought up in secret by Athena. This is evidently a compromise between a myth in which the Serpent Athena was the mother of the Serpent Erichtonios and the belief in the Maiden Goddess. Enclosed in the basket with a guardian snake Athena gives the child to the daughters of Kekrops the Maidens of the Dew and the clear shining water. They hide the child in a sacred cista, which they open disobeying the will of the goddess. Out of the cista comes Erichtonios with two guardian snakes or Erichtonios in the shape of a snake. Erichtonios is nurtured in Athena's sanctuary or he hides under her shield. Kekrops who has no child of his own, abdicates in his favour and he is the king of Athens. From Athena he receives two drops of the Gorgon's blood, one of them kills and the other gives life.³ The Gorgon's blood is Athena's blood and it is highly probable that the snake-kings of Athens, like other divine rulers of the East, were once regarded as the husbands or sons of the snake goddess, the guardian genius of the city.

1. Harrison. *Prolegomena*. 305. Herod. VIII. 41.

2. Harrison. *Prolegomena*. 306. (Collignon et Couve. Cat. 1942. Janrbuch d. Inst. Anzeiger 1896. p. 36)

3. Cf. Harrison, *Themis*. 264, 265. "Erichtonios," in Roschers Lexikon.

The serpent in Hellas certainly means the phallos¹ and we are therefore inclined to follow this sign. It leads us to the interpretation of the whole myth on a genital level. In many versions the human being exposed to the dragon is a young virgin and it is indicated, more or less clearly that she is destined to be the dragon's wife. In Wagadu on the Upper Niger the kings of the place were under the protection of a supernatural serpent. Every year, by lot, one of the loveliest maidens of the country was chosen and arrayed like a bride she was conducted to the well.² In a story from Boroe the reason for the sacrifice is that the crocodile falls in love with the girl and she becomes the mother of all crocodiles.³ In a legend in the annals of the city of Khoten the river dragon requires a new husband.⁴ The Akikuyu marry their snake-god to the young girls. Huts are built for this purpose by order of the medicine men who then consummate the marriage in the name of the snake god.⁵ The mere fact that in the folktale of the Perseus type the victim exposed to the dragon is always a young girl who is subsequently married by the hero is sufficient proof that the genital situation enters into the "Marchen" content. The hero has conquered the dragon and married the princess. He goes to the old witch and is petrified by her. His brother who follows him and is mistaken for him by his father-in-law and wife, lies down beside her but has no intercourse with her. He goes to the same witch and is not petrified by her. The obvious explanation seems to be that coitus and petrification have something to do with each other. Or to put it clearly, petrification means erection, a penis that is hard as stone. In a group of myths in Indonesia petrification is the punishment for committing incest or for "laughing at animals."⁶ I have interpreted the motive of "laughing at animals" in these stories as a symbolic restatement of the incest-theme laughing at the animals means disregarding the totemic (incest) taboo.⁷ After the bridal night the hero visits the old woman and is turned to stone; this is the anxiety and incest version of the same theme. In many variants of the story we find

1. Cf. Harrison, *Themis*, 267. Roheim, *Animism*, 297.

2. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, III, 57.

3. Hartland, *l. c.* III, 71.

4. Hartland, *l. c.* III, 73.

5. J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art*, 1911, II, 150. Cf. also Roheim, *Drachen und Drachenkämpfer*, 1912, 27.

6. W. I. Perry, *The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia*, 1918, 124-134.

7. Roheim, *Australian Totemism*, 344.

the hairs of the witch playing a significant role. The hero does not believe in the power of the hair, but as soon as the witch touches him he is turned to stone.¹ An old cat sits on a tree in a German variant. By putting one of her hairs on each of the hero's helpful animals they can not come to the hero's assistance.² In a Portuguese tale the old woman puts a hair on each animal which becomes a thick coil when they try to rescue their master. If we interpret this motive on *genital* lines the obvious conclusion would seem to be that the Gorgon's face represents the vagina and the serpentine tresses stand for the crines pubis. The sight of the vagina causes an erection (i. e. petrification) and the role of the hair is due to its erogeneus quality. The helpful animals of the hero, the dogs or lions who tear the witch into pieces and whose names are often derived from this function represent his aggressions or body destruction, unalloyed by libidinal trends. If they are "touched by the hair" they are also petrified i. e. genitalized and can not rescue their master from petrification i.e. coitus. The second brother who follows the first, does not have intercourse with the princess, his animals are not influenced by the magic that lies in the hair and they tear the old woman to pieces. The representation of the vagina as a face would be a parallel to the representation of *Baubo* found in Priene. She appears as a female figure without head or breast with a face on the stomach and her uplifted shirt is like a hairdress round the face.³ Freud mentions this as a parallel to the case of an obsessional patient whose obsession consisted in the repetition of the word "Vaterarsch," and in the image of his father as a small naked figure with a face copied on his stomach. "Vaterarsch" ("Father anus") was an unconsciously ironical rendering of "patriarch" i.e. an attempt to get rid of the respect felt for his father by reducing the latter to the rank of a stomach or anus.⁴ Some coins described by A. B. Cook show the Gorgons face in a situation which tends to confirm this interpretation of the Gorgons face as vagina.

The silver coins of Aspendos in Pamphylia from about 500

1. L. Gonzenbach, *Sizilianische Marchen*, 1870.

2. Bolte-Polivka, K.U.H.M. I. 1913. 530. In a Gypsy variant of the "Medusa-Witch" type the Princess and the Dragon are the same person H. von Wlislocki, *Volksdichtungen der siebenburgischen und sudungarischen Zigeuner*. 1890. 320.

3. S. Reinach, *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, 1912.

4. S. Freud, "Mythologische Parallele zu einer plastischen Zwangsvorstellung." *Ges. Schriften*. X. 240.

B.C. are characterized by three human legs turned either to the right or the left but radiating from a common centre and so constituting a genuine triskeles. Sometimes the triskeles is centered about a small four-spoked wheel, occasionally it is super-posed on a lion or an eagle.¹ But usually it consists of three human legs and nothing more. Some of these exhibit a well marked central disk. The Thraco-Macedonian tribe of Dessones added palmettes between the legs (fig. 240). The Pisidians of Selge (fig. 241) and the Lucanians of Velia fitted the ankles with wings. Elsewhere the humanizing tendency transformed the central disk into a face.

Silver and copper coins of Agathokles issued between 317 and 320 B.C. have for their reverse type on triskeles with wings attached to the feet and a Gorgon head in the middle² (fig. 242). On an aureus struck by the Roman moneyer L. Aquilius Florus in 20 B.C. to commemorate the Sicilian exploits of M. Aquilius eighty years earlier is a similar device but the winged Gorgoneion is larger (fig. 243). Bronze coins of Panormos from 254 B.C. onward adopted the same combination of triskeles and aegis moreover they complicated it still further by the introduction of three ears of barley between the revolving legs (fig. 244).

From a numismatic point of view Hill is justified in describing this "contamination" of the "triskeles" with the "Gorgoneion" as of Agathoclean origin.³ But it would be interesting to know whether the combined device was invented by Agathokles himself or borrowed from elsewhere. It may be surmised that Agathokles, who was a soldier rather than an artist saw it first on the shields of some of his foreign mercenaries. For not only was the simple triskeles a frequent emblem on shields but Dioskurides an Alexandrine epigrammatist of the third century B.C. represents a Cretan warrior as dedicating a shield that was adorned with precisely this combination of triskeles and Gorgoneion.

Not vain, methinks, the blazon that Polyllos son doth please
 Hyllos, who wears his buckler as a mighty man from Crete
 The Gorgon that turns me to stone and eke the triple knees
 He bade them paint: You will find them there, saying to all

1. A. B. Cook, *Zeus, a Study in Ancient Religions*. Cambridge Univ. Press. 1914. I. 304, 305, 306.

2. A. B. Cook, op. cit. I. 307, quotes. G. F. Hill, *Coins of Ancient Sicily* p. 193. pl. 11, 10 (fig. 242 in Cooks book) Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily p. 193.

3. Cook, I. c. quoting Hill, op. cit. 208.

they meet

Look not thou down on me my foe, that look of thine will
freeze

Or flee the man who runs apace with these his threefold feet
(Anth. Pal. 6, 126)

Although this merging of a Gorgons face and the running legs may be late we may nevertheless assume that the latent meaning of the phantasy was operative in producing this combination.

Now we know that the Gorgoneion is used as an *apotropaion* against the evil eye. It is evident that these myths and beliefs have something to do with the voyeur and exhibitionist complex. If our interpretation is correct the Gorgon as a protection against the evil eye is simply a case of symbolic magical exhibitionism. The Gorgoneion as a protection is conspicuous on shields and Artemidoros tells us that the vulva used to be called a "shield." Antique amulets represent naked women with outstretched legs sitting on a pig. In Scotland the image of the vulva is a protection against the evil eye. In old churches one sees a figure, the representation of a woman who shows her vulva called Shelahna-gig which is a popular name for a prostitute.¹ According to Pliny women expose their genitals to avert hail and a storm and this seems to be especially efficacious if they happen to be menstruating.² Plutarch reports how the women drive back Poseidon who has come to the aid of Bellerophon, by lifting up their skirts.³ Now Bellerophon is the rider of the Pegasos and the Pegasos is the horse that springs out of the Gorgon's head. The Huzuls in Eastern Galicia protect the fields against hail for the whole year by performing magic on the field in a state of nudity. Women lift their skirts above their heads and invite Hail to a meal. If the hail is approaching they go to their fields with all sorts of sharp implements and besides they show their naked anus to the approaching cloud.⁴ According to the Hungarian peasant folk of Gocsej a pregnant woman must bind her apron in a special way in a thunder-storm. She must not lift

1. Seligmann, *Der böse Blick*. 1910. II. 204.

2. Plinius XXVIII. 77 I. Heckenbach, *De nuditate sacra sacrisque vinculis*.

1911 (Religions-geschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten IX.) 53.

3. Heckenbach, *l. c.* 54.

4. K. Weinhold, *Zur Geschichte des heidnischen Ritus*. 1896, 34, 35.

her skirt and must tie her apron in a special way. Elija the prophet is trying to strike the devil with his lightning and the devil will try to hide in the woman's body. Naked devils fall from the clouds in thunderstorm.¹ Nakedness is also used to drive rats away (Hungarians)² or to protect the village against snakes (Roumanians) or disease spirits (Russians). In Lauenburg people show the dragon their naked anus and then the dragon lets gold drop from the air. But they must not do this on an open field because then the dragon will cover them with excrements. In Mecklenburg they compel the flying dragon to drop whatever he is carrying by showing him their naked anus.³ The Estonians have the same custom. The flying dragon (lendawa) carries treasures or gold. It can be stopped by showing it the naked anus and saying, "I show you my town, you show me your town." Or they strike three sparks with flint and steel and say "I show you gods fire, you show me your fire!" If somebody lets the dragon run without showing his anus, the dragon puts lice on him and he can only get rid of these by putting a woman's shirt on.⁴

One of the magical uses to which nakedness or exhibitionism is put is to drive storm or hail clouds away. Roscher has collected an array of arguments in favor of an identification of the Gorgon with the thunderclouds.⁵ If our interpretation is correct and moreover if the custom in question has anything to do with the explanation of the Gorgon myth we should have to assume that they have projected the "apotropaoin" into the sky, and dispell the thunderclouds by showing them an image of themselves. In other words the phantasy of the Gorgon, is based on vaginal anxiety and then projected into the sky. This would be on the same lines as an eye as protection against the evil eye.⁶ Greek peasants held a mirror to the hail cloud so that it should be frightened at its own ugliness and run away.⁷ The Basilisc of antique lore, a monstrous

1. F. Gonczi, *Gocsej*, 1914, 197, 198.

2. Roheim, *Magyar Nephit es Nepszokasok*, 54, 55.

3. L. Von Schroeder, *Germanische Elben und Gotter beim Estenvolke* Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Ak. d. Wiss. in Wien CLIII. 1906, 27, 28.

4. Wiedemann, F. I. *Aus dem inneren und ausseren Leben Ehsten*. 1876, 428. Schroeder l. c. 203.

5. W. H. R. Roscher, *Die Gorgonen und Verwandtes*. 1879.

6. Seligmann, l. c. II. 144-166.

7. Seligmann, I. 179 Kroll *Antiker Aberglaube*. 1898. 582.

serpent with a crown is a kind of bestial equivalent of the Gorgo. It was difficult to kill the animal because the danger was that anybody who attempted to do this would be killed by the animal's terrific eyes or sight. The only possible way out of the difficulty was a mirror in which the animal caught sight of itself and died of the shock. It was believed that the Basilisc died if it saw its own image mirrored in the water. In Lauenburg they thought that wells were infested by the Basilisc and the only way to get rid of the monster was to cover oneself with mirrors and thus kill it by the sight of itself.¹ The "Bilmeschnitter" of German folk-lore is a special kind of ghost that goes along with the witch. He rides on a black goat, has a sickle attached to his foot and he is naked. The only way to kill him is to wear a mirror on ones breast on the day of St. John when the sun is at the highest point, then he will catch sight of himself in the looking glass and die. But if he catches sight of the human being first, the latter must die in consequence.² Our conjecture is that the Gorgon as protective magic might have had a similar function. As a matter of fact Perseus does use a mirror in the myth. He looks in the mirror to see where the Gorgon's head is, in order to avoid looking at it directly and being petrified. One would assume however that this petrifying power would work through the mirror just as well and that we really have a contamination of two versions, one in which the Gorgon dies when it sees its own image in the mirror and the other in which the head is cut off by Perseus.

The Gorgons head or face is a vagina displaced upwards and cathected with anxiety. According to Greek folk-lore a glance from a menstruating woman was enough to wither cucumbers and pumpkins and to induce miscarriage in pregnant mares. This was especially the case if a virgin was menstruating (Athene!) or if it was the first menstruation after the loss of virginity. A glance from a woman in this condition would darken a mirror. The same superstition survived into the Middle Ages, K. V. Megenburg says "sslo seh wir an fraven, die irn monatganch habent, daz sie die newen spiegel flecket machent und wenn sie ainem in sein siachen augen sehent, so werdent of platern (measles) dar inne." According to Paracelsus being looked at by a menstruating woman pre-

1. Seligmann, *I.c.* I. 142, 143. Cf. II. 230.

2. Seligmann, *I.c.* I. 156, 157.

vents wounds from healing. A glance from a menstruating woman was bad for the eyes and was especially dangerous for small children. In Bombay menstruating women are mutually forbidden to look at each other (cf. the mirror motive). Dubois publishes excerpts from the Nittie-karma and the Padma-Purana. Menstruating women may not talk to each other and they may not look at any living being. When they are bathing and they lift their head above the water they must immediately look at the sun.¹ In California the girls first menstruation was considered of such crucial importance that she was thought extremely potent upon her surroundings and constituted a latent danger. If she looked abroad upon the world oak trees might become barren and next year's crop of acorns fail or the salmon refuse to ascend the river. Among many tribes therefore the maturing girl was covered with a blanket set under a large basket or made to wear a visor of feather over her eyes. She must not scratch her head with her fingers and must not look at people.² According to the Pomo her face would get wrinkled if she washed and should she work on a basket she would get blind. If she went to fetch water, she might see a monster in the spring (cf. Gorgo and Dragon) and eating meat would make her sick.³ Among the Yurok she wears a visor of blue-jay feathers to shield the eyes. She is forbidden to look upon fire, sun, moon or human beings.⁴ The Thlinkit put young menstruating girls in a hut so that she can not see anything outside because whatever she casts her eyes on would break to pieces; even the sky might be soiled and broken.⁵ The Stseelis Indians of British Columbia imagined that if a menstruous woman were to step over a bundle of arrows the arrows would thereby be rendered useless.⁶ The Baganda would not allow a menstrual woman to visit a well because the water would dry up.⁷ Peasants of the Lebanon believe that the shadow of a menstrual woman causes flowers to wither and trees to perish and even arrests the move-

1. S. Seligmann, *Der bose Blick* I. 94, 95.

2. A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology*. 1923, 301.

3. A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*. 1925, 254.

4. *Idem*, *ibid.* 299.

5. Seligmann, I. c. 96. Holmberg, *Ethnographische Skizzen über die Völker des russischen Amerika*. 1855. 39, 40.

6. Frazer, *Balder the Beautiful*. I. 89.

7. Frazer, *I.c.* I. 81.

ments of serpents.¹ But the most striking similarity to the Gorgon myth in this interpretation is a story of the Bushmen. By a glance from the eye of a menstruating girl men become fixed in whatever position they happen to occupy and become changed into trees or stars.² To clinch the argument we quote Apollodoros (3, 10, 3) who remarks that drops of the Gorgons blood had the power to heal or to annihilate people.³

A series of images from Finschhafen (Mandated territory of New Guinea) found on a house in which the girls were secluded at menstruation may well be regarded as a parallel to this assumed evolution of the Gorgon's head. On one of the boards we see a large nearly life-sized crocodile and a fish that holds the crocodile's tail in its mouth. On the other the crocodile has a small female figure with a feathered hat in its mouth. The female figure has a very big face with a chin that reaches down to the stomach. The hands are somewhere near the inguinal region as if they were opening the labia and showing the rima pudendi. The short legs are slightly stilted and make the vulva appear clearly. A second crocodile comes from the right introducing its snout into the vagina. The next board shows a human figure with a hat. The hat is elongated and on the top part we find the representation of a fish with a very broad tail. The figure has short legs bent at the knee, female genitalia and an animal with a body like a snake and a broad head emerges out of her vagina. On the central part of the board there is another female figure consisting like the Gorgon mainly in a face. The legs are bent to the maximum both at the thigh and the knees. So that the soles are on a level with the buttocks and the head is between the knees. The vulva is wide open and rhombic object, painted red comes out of it. The whole relief could be described either as merely a face or as merely a vulva. Then we have the representation of another female figure with the vulva wide open and with a rhombic headed serpent crawling out. Another relief that should be mentioned is a small male figure with a serpent emerging from its body at the place where the penis should be.⁴

1. Frazer, *I.e.* 83, 84.

2. W.H.I. Bleek, *A brief account of Bushman Folk-lore*. 1875. 10, 14.

3. Roscher, *Gorgones*. Lexikon. 1697. (Bd I. Abt 2).

4. Ploss Bartels, *Das Weib*. 1908. I. 514-516. The Gorgon in the myth is a pregnant woman (Cf. pregnant women have the evil eye. S. Seligmann, *Der böse Blick*).

We conjecture therefore that the Gorgon as a face which petrifies anybody who sees it is really the vagina. Petrification as death represents erection seen through the mirror of anxiety. In many analyses we find anxiety connected with the sight of the mother's vagina and with the blood associated with the mother's vagina at menstruation or childbirth. We know that the boy originally believes that the mother has a penis like his only much bigger. In many cases this belief is supported by a complete hallucination. That is many male patients remember actually having seen their mother's penis or the penis of some other grown up woman. The "penis" in these visions is usually imagined as projected out of the crines pubis. Further analysis reveals the connection of this phantasy with the primal scene and we find that the mother with the penis is an abbreviation "of the parents in coitus". On the other "hand blood on the bed-clothes" or otherwise in the bedroom means castration anxiety. In a case I analysed the boy's first memory was that he is crawling on all fours in his mother's bed, finds a stain of blood, evidently asks something because he remembered was a kind of grunt or some forbidding gesture on his father's part. The boy's whole character-development was connected with this trauma. On the one hand he regarded his mother as the source of this outflow of blood in the light of a male being and attempted to grow up by imitating her. On the other hand his choice of a profession was an attempt to overcome the castration anxiety called forth by the sight of the blood. His love life was determined by the fact that he was eternally in search of a "woman with a penis" in the characterological sense, that is of a woman with a "perfect" personality and certain "male" features in her mental make up. The "mother with the penis" was also connected with his primal scene trauma which he was abreacting in his search for the "combined parent" representative.

We should therefore expect that primitives should connect the "combined parent" concept with the idea of menstruation. Now this is exactly what they do believe for among various primitive people the menstruating woman is regarded as having intercourse with supernatural beings, ancestors or animals.

The natives of the Pennefather River in Queensland believe

1910. I. 93.) and Perseus the hero represents body destruction. She stands for both pregenital and genital anxiety.

that menstruation is caused by the curlew which sticks its beak into the woman's vulva to extract honey for its father the hurricane. The theme is well brought out in a carving from New Britain. The carving represents a female figure with very marked mouth, big nose, eyes, and a peculiar hat. The figure lies on its back and has very prominent breasts and stomach. A red object is visible in the vulva and we see a horn-bill pulling the menstruation blood out of the woman's vulva.¹ According to Hindu legends Indra killed the many headed Visvarupa. This is a version of Indras dragon slaying exploits. But he has thus become guilty of killing a Brahman and has to induce others to share his guilt to lessen the burden. One fourth of the guilt is taken over by the women and this is the origin of menstruation.² According to the Pindupi and Jumu menstruation is caused by a demon in the shape of an animal that scratches or bites the woman's vagina (Field notes).

The idea that the Gorgon represents the "combined parent concept" or the primal scene has been put forward by Money Kyrle. He explains the snakes great teeth and the lolling tongue of the Gorgon as phallic features. The Gorgon represents in one person the same thing that Andromeda and the monster or Andromeda and her suitor Pheneus or the hero's mother Danae and her suitor Polydectus represent in two separate persons.³ In this case showing them the Gorgons head would be tantamount to showing them a representation of themselves in a mirror. In a case of impotency I analysed, the patient had witnessed his parents coitus in the mirror and had become "petrified" i.e. impotent in consequence. One of his main anxiety objects was that of the "hermaphrodite" a woman with male attributes and appearance.

In recent years a series of learned publications have attempted to establish a historical connection between the Gorgon, the swastika, and the Chinese symbol of Yin and Yang.⁴ If these daring theories of the Imperial author are correct the result would confirm our derivation of the Gorgon from the primal scene, because the Chinese symbol of the Yin and Yang represents the primeval

1. Ploss Bartels *I.c.* I. 513.

2. Ploss Bartels *I.c.* I. 511.

3. Money Kyrle, *Superstition and Society*, 1939. 39.

4. Kaiser Wilhelm. II. *Erinnerungen an Korfu* 1924. Idem, *Die chinesische Monade*. 1934. Idem. *Studien zur Gorgo*. 1936.

union of male and female. Moreover the primal scene theory has the advantage of explaining the connection between the myth of the Gorgon and the belief in the evil eye. We might thus regard the evil eye or the anxiety of the evil eye as the inverted or talio aspect of the child's evil eye. In the primal scene it was the child who viewed the parental coitus with evil that is with a jealous or envious eye and now dreads the destructive forces in the evil eye of the adults.¹

In one of his famous clinical papers on the History of an infantile Neurosis Freud publishes an early dream of an obsessional patient. Six or seven wolves are glaring at him from a Christmas tree and the main emotional element of the dream seems to be the immobility of the wolves and the strong sense of reality connected with the dream. Analysis revealed that immobility represented exactly the opposite the rapid motion of the parent in the primal scene.² Perhaps the immobility in the Gorgon group of beliefs was also originally a representation by the contrary of the primal scene and then projected from the scene to the onlooker. In an analysis that is particularly rich in imagery, that is in material of a "mythological" type the patient, a young man of twenty-five in whose neurosis body destruction phantasies and sibling jealousy are conspicuous jerks out the following sentence "motion perpetually denied sunlight chimaira." Analysis reveals perpetual motion as the primal scene with denial as repression of the same. The primal scene is a trauma in both senses, first because participation is denied to the child and then because it means the making of new rivals. The word Chimaira, (The antagonist of Bellerophon, who rides the horse Pegasos that sprung from the Gorgon's neck) indicates the unconscious connection of these associations with the Gorgon theme. Further associations show the typical body destruction phantasy with the mother represented by a horse. In one of his frequent visual phantasies he cuts a hen's head off (uncertain about hen or cock) and the blood gushes forth as he does so. Then he tears off his penis and when his mother sees this she takes her penis off and gives it to him to replace his. This phantasy clearly

1. Children are especially subject to the evil eye and the evil eye is closely connected with envy and jealousy.

2. S. Freud, *Aus der Geschichte einer infantile Neurose* *Gesammelte Schriften* VIII. 464.

shows the decapitation of the animal or monster as the castration of the phallic mother.

V. THE EVOLUTION OF THE MYTH

The introductory episode of the Perseus-Gorgon folk-tale has some bearing on the inner transformation of the theme which we are considering. The hero and his two companions or brothers spend the night in a deserted house in a forest. The two companions are vanquished by a dwarf whose name is Yard high-forehead and Span-long beard or something similar. At any rate the shortness of the dwarf and the length of his beard are equally emphasized. Finally he is overcome by the hero when his long beard is caught in a wedge. "John cleft the log of wood before the door with his axe, then he put the dwarf's long beard into the cleft and withdrew the axe, there he was, caught now."¹

The motive of the "wedged in" demon occurs in various other folk-tales and sagas. In Grimm 114 the tailor who wins the princess has to overcome a bear. The tailor plays the violin and promises to teach the bear to do the same.² But the bear's nails are too long and in order to make them shorter the tailor (the typical castrator, the man with the scissors) makes him put his paws in a vice which he then screws tight. He is just about to marry the princess when some of his enemies let the bear loose and the bear runs after them. But the tailor is master of the situation. He stands on his head and says "see the vice! if you don't go you will get into it again." Parallel versions show that originally the tailor must have made the princess stand on her head and then frightened the bear by indicating the "vice" between her legs.³ It is the little tailor's bridal night with the princess and in his dream he projects his own castration anxiety which is represented by the bear. According to a story told in the Upper Palatinate a "green huntsman" haunted a mill. The new millers apprentice tempts the green huntsman (a ghost) to learn how to play the violin. But his fingers are too stiff so they have to be put into a vice. He must promise never to haunt the mill again and to live in

1. U. Jahn, *Volksmarchen aus Pommer und Rügen* 1891, 108.

2. "Playing the violin" is a popular euphemism for masturbation.

3. Boalte-Polioka, *Kinder und Hausmarchen*. II. 530.

the lake. The apprentice gets his reward; the miller's daughter. Once when they were rowing on the lake the water began to rise. Immediately he told his wife to stand on her head, and he shouted to the waves, "look here is my vice!"¹ Immediately the turmoil subsided. In a Suabian story a giant with a long nose haunted a castle. First he is caught in the vice and then he is frightened off by a woman who stands on her head.²

We are therefore justified in interpreting the motive of the dwarf in the wedge as the penis in the vagina. The name of the dwarf in a Hungarian version makes it quite clear that we are now dealing with castration anxiety on the Oedipus level. The dwarf is called *Het szunyu Kapanyani Monyok*.³ *Het szunyu* means *Het* sing *szakallu* that is "with a beard of seven yards" *Monyok* means the testicles or in general the male genital. The word *kappanyani* is evidently a compound like the condensations in the dream. The constituents are *kappany*-poulard-castrated cock and *anyani* having something to do with the mother, belonging to the mother. The name obviously represents castration anxiety in connection with the mother and this is the introduction of the folk-tale of the hero who goes to the nether world to fight the dragons, often in search of his captured mother.

If the myth so clearly indicates the genital level by the castration theme, we shall obviously expect to find mythical representations of the Oedipus complex in this context. Indra's father is Tvashtar, the smith of the gods and the ancestor of mankind. The newborn god desires the beverage of immortality Soma, and when his father refuses to grant his wishes he grabs his feet and kills him.⁴ As we have shown that Soma really means the mother's milk we see that this first exploit of the great dragon killer of the Rigveda differs from the deed of Oedipus only by substituting a part-object for the mother. In the "two brother" or Perseus type of folk-tale we have been discussing the hero frequently threatens or actually kills the smith. In a Lorraine version he slaps the

1. F. Schonwerth, *Aus der Oberpfalz*. 1857, III. 84.

2. L. Laistnet, *Das Rätsel der Sphinx*. II. 1889, 11.

3. L. Arany, *Magyar Népmese Gyűjtemény*. 1911, 133.

4. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda* 235. Ad. Kuhn, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Gottertranks*. 1886. 110.

smith's face¹ and in two Servian versions he actually kilis him.² In a Pommeranian tale the smith manufactures a being of iron³ and is a father in this sense while in some versions (Rugen, Moravia, Russia) father and smith are actually the same person.⁴ Theseus has killed the Minotaur and on his way home he gives the identity of his antagonist away by a characteristic "Fehl handlung." Theseus forgets to take the black sail off the ship and his father who sees the sign and thinks his son is dead, commits suicide by jumping into the sea from a rock. From Phaleron he dispatches a messenger to Athens with the news of his safe return. The messenger met with many who were lamenting the death of the king and with others who rejoiced as was meet and were ready to receive him with kindness and to crown him on his safe return.⁵ In the myth of Maui we find the same situation; an "accidental omission" on the part, this time, of the hero's father, reveals the identity of the father and the hero's enemy. When Maui decides to go to Hine nui te po his father says "There is evil impending over you." "When I chanted the incantation at your baptism I forgot some of the words of the ceremony and for this I divine you are to die."⁶ Moreover we have the myth of Maui and the giant eel Tuna as representing the Oedipus aspect of the hero and dragon myth. Maui's wife was Hine, the daughter of Tuna (Eel). Hine went near a stream whence Tuna came and besmeared her with the slime of his tail. Then she went home and said to Maui, "There is a man in the stream whose skin is very smooth to touch." As we know from other variants the "slime" and the "tail" are euphemisms employed by white or by his native informant. What is really meant is that Tuna has intercourse with his daughter Hina. When Tuna again approaches Hina, Maui kills him with his axe. His tail flew into the ocean and became a congered eel and his head flew into the fresh water and became eels.⁷ The killer of the eel is an eel himself. "Maui was like a man but one eye was like an eel, the

1. E. Cosquin. *Contes populaires de Lorrain*. 1887. II. 135.

2. Mijatovich-Denton, *Serbian Folk-lore*. 1899. 121. V. St. Karadschitsch, *Volksmarchen der Serben*. 1854, 6.

3. O. Knoop. *Volksmarchen, Sage u. s. w. aus dem ostlichen Hinterpommern*. 209.

4. F. Panzer. *Studien zur germanischen Sagengeschichte*. 1910. I. 40.

5. Roschers, Lexikon articles *Theseus*, *Aigeus*. I. E. Harrison, *Themis* 318.

6. White, *Ancient History of the Maori*. II. 105.

7. White, *Ancient History of the Maori*. II. 76, 84, 91, 115, 117.

we have been discussing the hero rescues those who have been swallowed by the monster previously. But we know that this is merely the reparation aspect of the infantile phantasy to cut his siblings out of his mother's womb. We have therefore aggression plus talio anxiety, projection and reparation. This is the stuff heroes are made of, or at least, a significant part of it. Besides this transformation of the original phantasy content due to defense mechanisms there is also an Id-transformation that is, new wine is being poured into the old bottles, new latent contents are expressed in the same phantasy frame. Like an individual, the myth grows up. For one thing the myth becomes genitalized. The hero going into the monster is now coitus and not body destruction. That is the dragon continues to be destroyed from within, but this time the hero does not enter the dragon, he merely throws or shoots something into its mouth.¹ The phallic aspect of the hero is prominent and his anxiety is not body destruction but castration anxiety. The dragon antagonist may now be a representative of the "combined parent concept" i.e. of the primal scene like the Sphinx and the Gorgon, or the father may take the place of the "bad" i.e. frustrating mother leaving Andromeda or the princess as representatives of the "good mother" as the price that is worth fighting for. Another factor of the functional type but on a more complicated level is introduced by the repetition or duplication of motives. As Frobenius has indicated the "dragons tongues cut out "as token of victory is a survival or attenuated representative of the persons previously swallowed by the dragon or whale and now let out by the hero.² Incidentally the attenuated form reveals an element of the original "the cutting out" but instead of persons we have only tongues (probably a phallic version of the body content.) In the same story, the animals bite the hero's head off, put it on the wrong way and restore it, or the hero, as soon as he has been restored from his petrified state, cuts his brother's head off, because he believes that the brother has had intercourse with his wife Restoration follows. The "Medusa-Witch"³ or Gorgon is a repetition of the dragon with an increasingly genital cathexis

1. This phase is represented by a group of folk-tales called "The Dragon and her daughters" and discussed by F. Panzer, *Studien zur germanischen Sagengeschichte*. II. Siegfried. 1912.

2. L. Frobenius, *Zeitalter des Sonnengottes*. 1904.

3. Cf. E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*. I-III.

and the princess or wife is the same thing again minus the element of anxiety. This technique of repetitions is similar to the technique of a long dream, with a succession of episodes that repeat the same theme and vary the emphasis in the function of the Censor.

Finally there is one element in our myth we have not yet discussed. In what sense can the story be called a nature-myth? And what is a nature-myth?

We have quoted a Maidu version of the story in which the heroine is the Sun in the full-sense of the word. At the time Maui rushed into "the sea to wet his burnt hands the sun set for the first time".¹ The ancestress into whose body the hero disappears is called Great Mother Night. Qat of the Banks Islands is another Maui. When the night had lasted "long enough" Qat took a piece of red obsidian and cut the night with it; the light over which the night had spread itself shone forth again and Qat's brothers awoke.² The kingfish came and swallowed Kamakajaku and went eastward towards the rising sun. When he comes out of the fish, up goes the Sun with a bang.³ In Egypt the boat of the sun-god passes through the body of a serpent at night or the boat itself is the body of a serpent. Chief among the demons who obstructed the path was the serpent or crocodile Apep. In dynastic times Apep was a personification of the darkest hour of the night against which Ra must fight successfully before he could rise in the east in the morning.⁴ The dead Sun-god is the "Flesh of Ra" was reborn into the life of a new day only after he had been drawing in his boat through the body of a serpent.⁵ The Cora myth of the morning star that kills the serpent of night shows the same symbolism.⁶ Anybody who sees a dragon must do something against it according to Lett folklore or the Sun will curse him.⁷ According to the Estonians God forgives people many sins for killing a certain kind of snake, because these snakes are trying to absorb the rays of the sun and if people did not kill them the world would be plunged into darkness.⁸

1. White, *Ancient History of the Maori*. II. 87.

2. Codrington, *The Melanesians*. 157.

3. Codrington, *ibid.* 365.

4. E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*. 1904. I. 322-328.

5. E. A. Wallis Budge, *l. c.* I. 272-273.

6. K. Th. Preuss, *Die Nayarit Expedition*. I. Die Religion der Cora Indianer.

1912. 50.

7. R. Auning, *Ueber den lettischen Drachen — Mythus* (Puhkis) 1892. 14.

8. A. B. Holzmaier, "Osiliana." *Verhandlungen der gelehrten estnischen Gesellschaft zu Dorpat*. VII. 1873. 38.

It is quite clear therefore that various people have identified the hero with the sun and the dragon or serpent with night. Night means darkness and anxiety, or sleep and uterine regression.¹ In a Slovak folk-tale the Sun is supposed to return every evening to his mother and to be reborn from her in the morning.² The projection to the moon or the explanation of lunar phenomena on basis of this phantasy material may have taken place in some cases though it is far less conspicuous than the solar trend in the myth formation. At any rate we have the wide-spread belief in dragons and similar monsters who swallow sun and moon at the eclipse. In Hungarian folk-lore this being who swallows the moon is called morkolab. The word is derived from the Slav *vlkodlak* and the *vlkodlak* are the souls of children who died without baptism and have become wolves that eat the moon. An explanation of the decrease and increase of the moon in the Hungarian County of Somogy is that the invisible part of the moon is a bitch that eats the visible half. The visible part has now disappeared and the bitch is now pregnant and visible. At new moon the puppies are born, and the bitch fights with her son. Finally he eats his mother.³ The moon enters into this cycle of phantasies because in its waning it is a representative of body destruction while the waxing moon naturally represents restoration. In the case given above the aggression is clearly directed against the pregnant mother. In the *Satapatha Brahman* the myth of Indra and Vritra acquires a lunar significance.

At the inter-lunium the moon (Vritra) is swallowed by the sun (Indra).⁴ Vritra assuredly is no other than the moon and when he is invisible then Indra completely destroys him by means of the new moon sacrifice and nothing remains.⁵ Vritra grows enormously, forces back the western and eastern Ocean, devours all food. Indra prevails upon Agni and Soma who with all the gods are in Vritra

1. Sleep itself has been interpreted by Ferenczi as, in a sense, a regression to prenatal life.

2. T. Wenzig, *Westslavischer Marchenschatz*. 1854. 39.

3. Roheim, *Drachen und Drachenkämpfer*. 1912. 42. Cf. *ibid.* further instances. Cf. a moon myth about cutting out the grandmothers cunnus G. C. Wheeler, *Mono-Alu Folk-Lore*. 1926. 175.

4. J. Eggeling, *The Satapatha Brahmana*, 1882. (Sacred Books of the East XII) 182.

5. Eggeling, *l. c.* I. 180.

to come over to his side¹ and he induces them to do this by means of the full moon sacrifice.²

The third important point in "nature mythology" that is embodied in the dragon myth is thunder lightning and water. The victorious hero wields the thunder weapon. Indra the "hurler" has the vajra in his right hand.³ And in Hellas we find again that the Dragon stands for things opposed to what is right while the thunder-weapon, the Keraunos, belongs to Olympian Jove. In an ode of Bakchyledes Minos to prove that he is the son of Zeus, prays Zeus, my father, great and strong, hearken if in very truth

Phoinikes white armed maiden bare me to Thee
Now send thou forth from heaven a swift

Flash of streaming fire

A sign for all to know⁴

And in the Bacchae

Dark and of the dark impassioned

Is this Peutheus' blood: yea fashioned

Of the Dragon and his birth

From, Echion, child of Earth

He is no man, but a wonder

Did the Earth-Child not beget him

As a red Giant to set him

Against God, against the Thunder?⁵

The significance and function of thunder as standing for the *dii superi* in the religious evolution of mankind would be a theme worth investigating. Originally it may have meant the outburst of temper, the cry of the petulant⁶ child and subsequently it became associated with the angry voice of a vindictive father.

The *vajra*, Indra's thunder-weapon is described as being made

1. "The gods that were in Vritras mouth went out."

2. Eggeling, *l. c.* 166.

3. A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*. III. 1902, 171.

4. A. B. Cook, *Zeus*. 1925. I. 8.

5. I. E. Harrison, *Themis*. 1927. 434.

6. In a Mexican folk-tale a child who has been punished by its mother runs away and returns as a storm cloud. Then it kills its whole family with thunder and lightning. A. Balint *Die mexikanische Kriegshieroglyphe*. Imago IX-42. In Dahomey one of the "thunders" is Sogboo's last child. He is his mothers favorite and he is much spoiled for his mother could not bring herself to punish him for his misdeeds. To him his mother gave anger as his hereditary portion. He rips open the body in killing. M. Q. Herskovits and F. S. Herskovits, *An Outline of Dahomean Religious Beliefs*. Memoirs of the Am. Anth. Ass. (number 41) 1933, 21.

of iron or copper in one case of stone. The root of the name *vajra* means hard, strong; *vajra* is equivalent to diamond, but it is also a name for a plant containing a milky juice.¹ In a myth contained in the *Mahabharata* which however was already known in the Vedic period, Indra's thunderbolt was made of the bones of Dadhica. The name of this sage means "sprinkling milk." This connection between the thunder-weapon and milk shows itself in various European beliefs and Maunhardt is probably right when he interprets the rain as "heavenly milk".² In other words if the child makes a noise (thunder) milk will come (rain).

We don't know enough about this process by which mankind has from time immemorial been seeing its own phantasies, anxieties and desires in nature. It is projection of course but in a different sense to the projection that consists in projecting emotions to somebody else. There is a technique of separation in it, the conflict is safely placed outside, in nature, yet frequently in natural phenomena that are of great importance for human survival, as for instance the water supply. Real difficulties are approached on an infantile basis, and in these infantile mankind can always find new versions of the tensions, frustrations and gratified wishes of the dawn of life.

The process of transformation of the myth is very similar to dream work. The dream episodes of one night sometimes show the phases of the process quite distinctly. In one episode the action is the original one (for instance coitus) but with different *dramatis personae*. The next episode may contain the original actors but the action itself is so far modified as to escape detection. These are the cases in which it is easier to demonstrate the successive phases in the process of transformation but they may all at work in the same dream image and then it is only in analytic work that we can unveil them.

The dragon myth is originally about the aggressions and anxieties in the infant mother situation. The Dahomean cult of a "force" or a something that is called a serpent is instructive in this connection.

What is the power of Da? All serpents are Da but not all serpents are worshipped. Quite essentially, Da represents the principle of mobility, of sinuosity. All things which curve and move

1. C. Blinkenberg, *The Thunder weapon*, 1911, 113.
2. Blinkenberg, *l. c.* 114.

and have no feet are Da. What makes my hand move? It's the Da in me. "Da distinguishes the dynamic from the static. It is movement and life itself".¹ This principle of movement is intimately connected with the beginning of life, with the mother's body indeed it is the tie between mother and child. The serpent which is to become the Da of the individual brings its spirit, ancestor and its personal soul from heaven into the mother's womb. When a child is born this Da comes with it. It is represented by the X in da the umbilical cord which when cut off is buried under a palm tree that becomes the property of the child. The Dahomeans say, "When an animal is born there is an umbilical cord. When we pull up a plant from the ground there are the roots. If we cut away the roots the plant dies. The roots are life. They have the quality of Da, for they are flexible and living and have no feet and are moist".

The "serpent" is the umbilical cord of all things; it is the tie between mother and child but it is also the dynamic as opposed to the static principle. And it resides in the abdomen, while the soul dwells in the head. Like some "dragons" of European folk-lore the Da increases the riches of its owner by taking the riches from others,² and the sacrifice for the Da consisting of palm oil, rum or blood is sprayed on the navel. The force that connects mother and child and is in the womb, in the abdomen and brings "good objects" to its owner, which it takes from others represents the archaic phantasies of the child directed against the mother's body. The loving mother appears as a dangerous dragon and the child full of aggression and anxiety is represented in the myth by a hero, by the undaunted rescuer of helpless victims.

But what is the function of a myth? Why is it told and retold? "Vritra assuredly is no other than the moon, and when he is invisible then Indra completely destroys him by means of the new moon sacrifice. He who knows this overcomes all evil,"³ as the text says, or at least finds hope and consolation against anxiety. Greek heroes have the Gorgon on their shield and St. George the Christian representative of a long line of dragon slayers⁴ was also the war-cry

1. M. Q. Herskovits and F. S. Herskovits, *An Outline of Dahomean Religious Beliefs*. 1933. 56.

2. Herskovits, *l. c.* 57. The serpent was also the first being in existence which carried Mauri (god) in its mouth (*l. c.* 56).

3. L. Eggeling. *The Satapatha Brahmana*. 1882. 180.

4. In an English prose romance the Seven Champions of Christendom St. Georges

and patron saint of many a nation. It is the story of aggression followed by anxiety and of anxiety re-inverted into heroism. The dragons fashioned by our phantasy are merely a sombre background to set off our original aggressions in a heroic light.¹

mother has a recurring dream that she had given birth to a dragon which would cause her death. C. St. Hulst, *St. George of Cappadocia*. 1909. 97.

1. There were some of the notable acts of Maui after he came into the world. He partly destroyed the house of his parents, he tied the sun, he starved Muri-paka-whenua to death, he caused a blight to come on the kumara crops and he taught Kereru (pigeon) the art of transforming himself into a bird. White, *Ancient History*. II. 85.

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FLIGHT FROM HOME

Some Episodes in the Life of Herman Melville.

By

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Melville is an important and interesting figure in American literature. On several accounts he is entitled to an enduring fame. He has been surpassed by nobody as a chronicler of the sea. If the parts of the universe ever come to representation then surely will Melville be the representative of the seas and oceans. Thanks to Melville the intimate story of whaling has been preserved for us. One of the earliest and most charming accounts of the South Sea Islands when they were still relatively unspoiled came from Melville's pen. From the purely literary standpoint he is one of the world's great masters of prose. Most of all his fame rests on the creation of a great masterpiece, "Moby Dick."

In this paper we shall consider his early career up to his writing of "Moby Dick" at the age of thirty-two. A detailed analysis of his preceding books, "Mardi" and "Redburn" will throw light not only on Melville's character in general but specifically on two episodes in his early life, soon to be recounted, which I have designated "flight from home." In addition valuable suggestions emerge from the books in question as to the significance of the writing process itself, the functions for Melville of his literary activity. Whether generalizations can be made from these I am not prepared to say.

Melville was born in New York City on August 1, 1819, a second son and third child. On both sides of his family he was descended from a long and prolific line of the best American stock. Both grandfathers had distinguished themselves in the Revolution. On the father's side descent could be traced from a 13th century Scotch nobleman. The mother's side had its roots in the best Colonial Dutch families.

The father, Allan, came from a well-to-do, cultivated family. He had no university education but was well travelled. At eighteen he made his first trip abroad. In all, eventually he made seven. He was a merchant importer in dry goods and notions from France.

Maria, the mother, was cold, haughty, formal, proper, putting the highest premium upon appearance.

Their first child was a boy, Gansevoort, the second, a girl, Helen Marie. Herman's birth was not recorded in Allan's journal. He had apparently come to accept childbirth quite casually. There were to be five more children, three girls and two boys, Allan and Tom.

A few early biographical items are preserved in the father's letters. When Herman was fourteen months old he and Gansevoort were slightly affected with whooping cough while Helen Marie suffered severely from it. Herman's health remained poor. In the father's letters are references to Herman's "melancholy situation," his being pale, thin and dejected. At five years Herman "has turned into a great tease and daily puts Gansevoort's patience to flight who cannot bear to be plagued by such a little fellow." At seven he was described by Allan as being "backward in speech, slow in comprehension, but you will find him as far as he understands men and things both solid and profound and of an amiable disposition." When Herman was eleven, Allan's business prospects in New York became hopeless and the family moved to Albany. Two years later Allan became bankrupt and died. He is thought by his biographers to have been a fair-weather sailor who couldn't stand adversity and whose death must have been hastened by his business failure. The family were left penniless. The oldest son, Gansevoort, opened a hat store and assumed the responsibility for supporting the family. At fifteen, Herman stopped his schooling to clerk in a bank. Next he worked in Gansevoort's store, then on an uncle's farm, and then, for awhile, taught school.

It would have been so helpful for Herman to have succeeded at something. Unfortunately he couldn't find any road to travel, saw no prospects for fortune and achievement anywhere and at the age of seventeen he left his home in a little river village outside of Albany for New York City where he shipped as a common sailor boy to Liverpool. From New York to Liverpool was no greater a voyage than from the life in a little village to life in a ship's forecastle, from innocence, Sunday School, the Juvenile Total Abstinence Association, the Anti-smoking Society to association with the off-scourings of civilization, sailors, and their vice, swearing, drinking, and disease. Melville left home neither for adventure

nor to seek his fortune. He showed no inclination, for example, to find a career on the sea, as a younger brother was later to do in becoming a captain. He was penniless, in patched clothes, bitter, melancholy, and ambitionless. The journey from home was an attenuated kind of running away. Melville, himself, at sea, had once a vivid impression that the ship he was on was in flight from something. What did this journey from home mean?

After a stay of several weeks in Liverpool Herman returned to his family and from time to time taught school. He also wrote some stories which found their way into the local newspaper. In one we read of a young man, formerly suffering from a hang dog modesty who finally comes to a different conclusion about himself, that he is modelled after Jupiter, is beautiful as Apollo, the envy of the beaux, and the idol of the women. He is bold with the girls, kisses them all to the horror, amazement and chagrin of the other sheepish boys. This story is in the form of an epistle addressed to "My dear M_____." In another epistle a young man follows a mysterious damsel to an oriental-like apartment. He feels a great trepidation.

We can imagine Herman, yearning, dissatisfied, brooding, melancholy, day-dreaming at the river bank of girls but feeling too afraid to do more than dream. Horror, amazement, trepidation are the feelings aroused in him by his impulses. The epistle addressed to "My dear M_____ " is a means of giving himself solace. Every exaggerated remark about the greatness of his self-esteem must be to repair a correspondingly great rent in his self-esteem. He must have felt very inferior and inadequate.

At twenty-one he again left home. It was just after Christmas and the New Year when home ties are by tradition strongest, when rovers are back home from their wanderings. This was when Herman, for the second time, severed his home ties to begin a four year's *Odyssey*. What did this second flight from home mean? Going to sea, he was to write in "Moby Dick," was his substitute for pistol and ball. "With a philosophical flourish Cato throws himself upon his sword; I quietly take to the ship." To sign up for a whaling voyage in mid-winter wasn't too far removed from a suicidal gesture.

After considerable cruising for the sperm whale the ship landed at the harbor of Nukuheva in the South Sea Islands. The island

girls boarded the ship and the sailors indulged in orgies and satisfied their "unholy passions." Melville must have been a very disturbed onlooker. He decided to run away, to jump ship, to desert and go into the interior. It is significant that this decision was made after the observations in question. He persuaded a young sailor, Toby, to accompany him. Their goal was the valley of the Happars, a friendly tribe. Instead they came to the very place they had seemingly tried to keep from, the valley of the dreaded Typees, the cannibals. The word Typee means lover of human flesh. Toby was permitted to leave, but Melville was kept for four months in friendly captivity. The cannibals he found to be a humane, gentlemanly, and amiable set of epicures. He was treated with tender solicitude and enjoyed an innocent, tender relationship with the beautiful Fayaway. There were many consolatory experiences and yet he was prey to great anxiety and the profoundest melancholy, for one thing because he was a captive, for another because of the occasional indulgences in cannibalism which the natives tried to hide from him, but most of all, from his own account, because of a painful swelling of his leg that kept him crippled. This crippled leg not only marked a degree of physical disability but must have symbolized his sexual inhibition and much of the anxiety must have been related to fear of castration. In "Moby Dick," it may be remarked here, Captain Ahab is a cripple, having had his leg bitten off by a whale. In Paradise Melville must have remained a Puritan and it must have made him profoundly miserable.

Finally he succeeded in escaping from the Typees aboard a whaler, cruised around the South Sea Islands, left the ship to work as a farm laborer on one of the islands, and to roam around, again embarked, landed at Honolulu where he clerked and then enlisted as a sailor on a United States battleship which finally brought him to Boston at the age of twenty-five.

Again at home he wrote two books, "Typee" and "Omoo," factual records of his South Sea Island experiences. They brought him considerable attention, not altogether favorable, since he had criticized the work of the missionaries.

At twenty-eight he married Elizabeth Shaw, the daughter of his father's friend. After a brief honeymoon they went to live in New York City with Herman's mother and the other children.

At thirty he wrote "Mardi" while Elizabeth was pregnant.

"Mardi" begins very much like "Typee." Melville and a companion desert from a whaler in one of its small boats while in mid-Pacific to seek a haven in some pleasant island. Before land is reached there are exciting adventures. They come upon a brig tenanted only by a native couple, Samoa and his spouse, Annatoo, sole survivors of a bloody battle for possession of the ship between the crew and treacherous natives at an island where the brig had landed. Upon this brig Melville and his companion remain until it is disabled in a storm. Annatoo is swept overboard and lost. Melville, his companion and Samoa take to the small boat. Next they come upon an island canoe manned by a priest and his disciples bearing a beautiful white maiden, Yillah, to be sacrificed. Melville kills the priest, rescues the maiden and bears her off in his boat. At last they come to an island where Melville to insure his safety and good treatment announces himself as Taji, a demi-divine from the sun. His extreme happiness with Yillah is short-lived. She mysteriously disappears and the major portion of the book recounts the voyaging of Taji, his companions and the island king and his retinue to find her. Many islands are visited and descriptions given of their customs and histories, a means by which Melville, the author, is able to hold up to scrutiny all the manners, beliefs and ideals of the world he had already come to know. All the schemes of men to find power, peace, happiness, security or some philosophy of life are examined. Thinly disguised are considerations of then existing monarchies, the democracy of America, slavery, philosophies, religions, but everything is found wanting and "all is vanity." Finally Yillah is discovered to be in the realm of Queen Hantia, a temptress and seductress, whose blandishments, however, are resisted by Melville. Yillah is not regained but in some mysterious way leaves in the ocean current still pursued by Melville who, himself, is ever pursued by the avenging sons of the priest he had slain. So ends the book.

Keeping this broad outline in mind we can now go over "Mardi" in detail and see what is revealed therein. The interpretations first to be made may seem somewhat lacking in foundation but it is hoped that the reader will be indulgent and wait for further material as the analysis of "Mardi" proceeds to confirm earlier impressions and conclusions.

In an analysis of a patient we are able to confirm early impressions in a way not available to us in the analysis of a dead writer essentially through the writings he has left us. We cannot prove our suppositions but can only make them seem reasonable. We cannot end by saying such is the case but, rather, such seems to be the case. There is some reduction of our hesitancy to accept a story, especially one that is not frankly autobiographical, as indicative of important, though concealed, revelations when it contains themes, major or minor, or even incidents which are repeated in the previous and subsequent writings. Then it is easier to believe in the significance ascribed to them. This repetition, unfortunately, can be utilized here only to the extent of brief hints because lack of space prevents consideration of all of Melville's life and writings.

As has been said "Mardi" in its beginning makes us think very much of "Typee" but very soon we become interested in changed and new matters. Actually, as is represented in "Typee," Melville did leave ship with a companion, Toby, of his own age. The companion he picks for himself in "Mardi" is no Toby. He is instead a fatherly figure, Jarl. Melville refers to Jarl, a humble seaman, as being a king, nevertheless, an old Norseman, a descendant of Vikings and proceeds in an impassioned paragraph to enumerate various father ancestors, King Alfred, Homer, Noah "who fathered us all." "Let us not be afraid," he writes, "no foe but who will in the end prove a friend. In heaven at last, our good, old white-haired father Adam will greet all alike, and sociality forever prevail. Christian should join hands between Gentile and Jew, grim Dante forget his Infernos, and shake sides with fat Rabelais; and monk Luther, over a flagon of old nectar, talk over old times with Pope Leo," etc.

How interesting this is. Melville is about to become a father but fatherhood, and husbandhood, too, are positions he gives up in anxiety. He reverts to "sonhood," makes father, who is in heaven, alive again. The host of father figures he conjures up are idealized, powerful and protecting. Everything is made right, especially the conflict between son and father (Luther and Pope Leo, for example). Infernos can be forgotten and sociality prevail. Father is alive and all is well. What Melville is trying to negate, as we shall see later, is that he ever wished his father dead. Further-

more, father is not the weak, ineffectual bankrupt, incapable of protecting anybody, but is strong and powerful. He is also not the father who was unexcited about Herman's birth and thought him backward and slow but one who worships Herman and is ready to devote himself to Herman. "Jarl loved me and from the first had cleaved to me. It is sometimes the case that an old mariner like him will conceive a very strong attachment for some young sailor, his shipmate, an attachment so devoted as to be wholly inexplicable, etc." "My Viking, thy unbidden affection was the noblest homage ever paid me." "He (Jarl) must have taken me for one of the house of Hanover in disguise." Jarl's loyalty was extreme. Unsolicited he was Herman's laundress and tailor and even saw to his food. "Like Sesostris I was served by a monarch."

From his wife, Elizabeth, Herman runs to his father, a monarch, a god, who will adore him, protect him and tend to him like a helpless babe. "Now, my Viking for me, thought I, when I cast about for a comrade, and my Viking alone."

They leave the ship. "Good old Arcturion! Maternal craft that rocked me so often in thy heart of oak, I grieve to tell how I deserted thee on the broad deep." Later they learn that the ship founders, with all aboard lost. Conscience-stricken, Melville wonders if he is responsible.

When Melville relates his running off from that maternal craft, the Arcturion, we think at once of the time when he ran off from his mother. He was seventeen then and his father had been dead for four years. For reasons we shall see clearly later on, his position at home had become completely untenable. He wanted mother all for himself, to receive all her love and adoration. His brothers he wanted to be ousted especially the oldest, Gansevoort, who took father's place, the place Herman wanted for himself. Frustrated in his wishes, he felt enraged at them all, his mother for not adoring him enough, for abandoning him as he distantly saw it, and his brothers because they were rivals and stood between him and mother. In a later novel, "Pierre," he makes himself the only child of a widowed mother and threatens to kill any suitor for her hand. In "Mardi" he leaves the maternal Arcturion to founder with its crew. In real life he left mother and the children with a curse in his heart to have them perish. There is some

identification with father, too, who died a bankrupt and left his family to founder.

Melville's wishes to possess mother and to get rid of his brother-rivals made him feel guilty and fearful of retribution. Jarl and Melville save their lives by leaving the Arcturion. Melville had to leave home and mother to escape destruction. Turning from mother and his brothers he sought his father, not dead and turned to dust but gloriously living on in Heaven. We can understand the profusion of father figures Melville sets up. He would give up mother and the dangers that struggling for her entailed to make peace with father and find refuge and happiness. This, however, was not a final, definitive choice. There was much vacillation with eventual regression to an increasingly infantile, dependent position. Elizabeth, the wife, doesn't count at all.

From a previous description we are able to see the infantile, dependent position Melville sought. He wanted the world to be a breast offered to him unfailingly and unstintedly. According to Jarl, "This terraqueous world had been formed in the manner of a tart; the land being a mere marginal crust, within which rolled the watery world proper." Thrust away from the breast, from a passive dependency, forced to deal actively with the world the only technique apparently that Melville seemed able to attempt was the destructive cannibalistic one, to bite and chew and eat the world. To Melville, the world away from the breast was like an ocean in which he was a cannibalistic denizen threatened at all times to be cannibalistically destroyed by its other denizens.

"Ever present to us," he writes in "Mardi," "was the apprehension of some sudden disaster from the extraordinary zoological specimens we most hourly passed. There were myriads of sharks, the Brown, the Blue, the Tiger sharks, round portly gourmands, with distended mouths and collapsed consciences swimming about seeking whom they might devour."

Clinging to the backs of the sharks are Remoras, or sucking-fish, snaky parasites, impossible to remove from whatever they adhere to without destroying their lives.

How clearly Melville expresses his fundamental positions. If he cannot be a parasitic suckling he can only be a cannibal. The trends to parasitism and cannibalism spoiled all his human relationships, eventually isolated him and bred distrust and anxiety.

In a later story we are introduced to Don Benito, weak, sickly, dependent on a seemingly kind and attentive servitor, the black Babo who is finally revealed as a bloodthirsty, evil knave. The need to be utterly dependent bred distrust and destroyed confidence. The parasitic creature is actually described in the story, "Bartleby, the Scrivener." Bartelby is an extraordinarily queer, reserved, isolated being who refuses to exert himself or make any of the efforts of an adult to procure a living. Like the infant, he must be fed unconditionally. When Bartelby is not fed, he starves to death.

To continue with "Mardi."

After sixteen days of isolation on a boundless sea they come upon a brigantine which at first seems deserted but is finally revealed as being tenanted by a native couple, Samoa and his spouse Annatoo. The vessel, the Parki, has been attacked by treacherous natives at one of the Pearl Islands. There had been much bloodshed. Only Samoa and Annatoo are left to escape. In the fray Samoa's arm is mangled and requires amputation. Samoa first attempts to be his own surgeon but then distrusting the precision of his aim gives Annatoo the axe to chop his arm off. This is how Melville describes the couple. "Samoa had fallen desperately in love with her and thinking the lady to his mind, being brave like himself, and doubtless well adapted to the vicissitudes of matrimony at sea, he meditated suicide — I would have said wedlock — and the twain became one. And sometime after in capacity of wife, Annatoo the dame accompanied in the brigantine Samoa her lord."

Melville is revealing in this how unpleasant his marriage was, a source, not of pleasure, but of anxiety. Married only a short time he is already referring to wedlock as suicide. It is a very unpleasant affair. Samoa and Annatoo are described as almost always in dispute. Annatoo is a shrew, a termagant, a bellicose Tartar of whom Samoa stands in awe. Her voice is a bark of artillery, her talons a charge of bayonets. Actually Elizabeth was not wanting in any way. She was a sweet and devoted wife, loyal and attentive to Melville's wants, but he couldn't enjoy this.

Sexual relations instead of being pleasurable were frightening. In a poem of later life he was to bemoan his lack of sexual pleasure. In a journal he wrote years hence he was to write that Elizabeth wouldn't be able to understand his need to fly from, to escape from her. It is interesting that the marriage story, the suicide, is

associated with the stories of the bloody massacre and of the amputation. There are terrifying associations to sex, rupture of the hymen with bleeding, menstruation, and castration. Castration symbols are offered in profusion.

"For myself, I ever regarded Samoa as but a large fragment of a man, not a man complete. For was he not an entire limb out of pocket? And the action at Teneriffe over, great Nelson himself — physiologically speaking — was but three quarters of a man. And the smoke of Waterloo blown by, what was Anglesea but the like? After Saratoga, what Arnold? To say nothing of Mutius Scaevola minus a hand, General Knox a thumb, and Hannibal an eye, and that old Roman grenadier, Dentatus, nothing more than a bruised and battered trunk, a knotty sort of hemlock of a warrior, hard to hack and hew into chips, though much marred in symmetry by battle-axe blows."

A storm arises, the brig is disabled, Annatoo is swept overboard and drowned and Jarl, Samoa and Melville take to the little boat, the Chamois, in which they had left the Arcturion. Nine days of sailing bring them to a mysterious island craft, a sacred canoe bound on a priestly voyage. Aleema, a priest, and his disciples are taking a beautiful maiden, Yillah, in pursuance of a barbarous custom, to be offered up as a sacrifice to the Gods of Tedaidee. Melville decides to save Yillah. A fight ensues in which he kills the old priest.

"Remorse smote me hard and like lightning I asked myself whether the death-deed I had done was sprung of a virtuous motive, the rescuing of a captive from thrall or whether beneath that pretense I had engaged in this fatal affray for some other and selfish purpose, the companionship of a beautiful maid."

Yillah declares herself more than mortal, a maiden from Oroolia, the Island of Delights. She has snow-white skin and blue firmament eyes. A long fanciful account of her origin is given. It is a fairy tale of birth.

Melville has fled far from Elizabeth, indeed. He has gone back to mother, to the first voyage from her womb to her arms and breasts. The period of nine days that it takes to find Yillah represents the nine months of life in mother's womb until birth. Melville is in Paradise again with mother, in the fabulous island

of delights before an intruding, hostile, thieving father wrongfully claimed her. What right did the priest have to Yillah?

"But with what passionate exultation did I find myself the deliverer of this beautiful maiden; I rejoiced that I had sent her guardian, the priest, to his gods, that in place of the sea-moss growing over sweet Yillah drowned in the sea the vile priest himself had sunk to the bottom."

"But though he had sunk in the deep, his ghost sunk not in the deep waters of my soul. However in exultation its surface foamed up, at bottom guilt brooded. Sifted out, my motives to this enterprise justified not the mad deed, which, in a moment of rage, I had done; though these motives had been covered with a gracious pretense, concealing myself from myself. But I beat down the thought."

Melville tells Yillah he is some gentle demi-god that had come over the sea from her own fabulous Oroolia. In the fairy tale of birth father is excluded. Birth is an intimacy between mother and Melville. Father is dispossessed and even deprived of his physiological role. Birth concerns only the child and the mother. Again, Yillah is not brown but snow-white. She belongs to the white Melville not the brown priest from whom Melville took her.

"Think not of Aleema (the priest), sweet Yillah," Melville cries, "Look on me. Am I not white like yourself — am I not even as you — am I brown like the dusky Aleema? They snatched you away from your isle in the sea too early for you to remember me there. But you have not been forgotten by me, sweetest Yillah. Ha! Ha! Shook we not the palm trees together, and chased we not the rolling nuts down the glen? Did we not dive into the grotto on the seashore, and come up together in the cool cavern in the hill? In my home in Oroolia, dear Yillah, I have a lock of your hair, ere yet it was golden: a little dark tress like a ring. — Still forgetful? Know you not my voice? — All the past a dim blank? — Am I ever forgotten? Yet over the wide watery world have I sought thee — and now we part not."

What Melville wants is for his mother to recall only when she devoted herself to him and loved him as her baby. It isn't the lock of Yillah's or the mother's hair which is preserved but that of the baby's, Melville's. When father died mother grieved and couldn't forget him. If she turned to anybody it was to

Gansevoort. How Melville must have yearned to have her put the dead father out of mind and turn to him to reestablish the happy time when he was her baby. Melville never forgave his mother for ending his blessed babyhood. Father he had always wanted out of the way and when he died his long standing frustration at not having mother for himself became aggravated because mother didn't turn to him. In his unconscious, Melville, because of the death-wishes he had entertained towards father, felt a murderer when his father died. We can see how difficult it was for Melville to remain at home after father's death. On the one hand he felt conscience stricken as though his own evil wishes had been responsible for father's death. On the other hand he felt all the more frustrated because father's death brought mother no nearer to him.

In phantasy, in "Mardi," however, Melville's wishes are fulfilled. Father is dead, the brothers left far behind and mother is his alone.

How serene it is with Yillah.

"What cared I now for the green groves and bright shore? Was not Yillah my shore and my grove, my meadow, my mead, my soft shady vine, and my arbour?"

"So away floated the Chamois, like a vagrant cloud in the heavens, bound no one knew whither."

In the Chamois there is great happiness. Yillah's beauty is that of a crystal lake in a fathomless wood. "Often she entreated me to repeat over and over again certain syllables of my language. These she would chant to herself, pausing now and then as if striving to discover wherein lay their charm." Is there suggested in this the loving mother playing with her babe and encouraging it in its prattling and babbling? Certainly Yillah is representative of all Melville's earliest memories and longings. "For oh Yillah—were you not the earthly semblance of that sweet vision that haunted my earliest thought? No happiness in the universe like ours. We lived and we loved. Life and love were united. In gladness glided our days."

They reach an island and are met by friendly natives who lift the canoe in the air, bear it on their shoulders to a grove where they deposit it between the forks of two trees. Melville announces to the natives that he has come from the sun. "When this morning

it rose and touched the wave, I pushed my shallop from its golden beach. I am Taji." Taji, the demi-god from the sun, is quite different from the poor, shabby sailor boy who roamed the South Seas in reality.

This Taji is the little babe, Melville, the mysterious newcomer from some other world, worshipped by his mother, held up for all to admire, loved, idolized, gently lulled and rocked to sleep in its cradle.

During the days Taji feels happy with Yillah, but at nights he feels guilty. "Am I a murderer, stars?"

The bliss is short lived. Yillah mysteriously disappears. "One morning I found the arbour vacant." An intensive search is organized but to no avail.

"For a time I raved, then falling into outer repose, lived for a space in moods and reveries, with eyes that knew no closing, one glance forever fixed. They strove to rouse me. Girls danced and sang, and tales of fairy times were told, of monstrous imps and youths enchanted, of groves and gardens in the sea. Yet still I moved not, hearing all, yet noting nought. Media cried, "For shame, Oh Taji, thou a god?" and placed a spear in my nerveless hand. And Jarl loud called upon me to awake. Samoa marvelled."

"Still sped the days. And at length my memory was restored. The thoughts of things broke over me like returning billows on a beach long bared. A rush, a foam of recollection! Sweet Yillah gone and I bereaved."

He is inconsolable and resolves to search throughout the world for her.

What has happened? The little babe has been weaned. We can guess that this was especially traumatic when we recall the reference to whooping cough that afflicted Herman and his two older siblings. This must have come shortly after the weaning or perhaps it even was responsible for the weaning. Helen Marie suffered most severely from it and we can imagine that she must have received most of mother's attention. In subsequent years Herman could see new children come to take the breast and he could feel himself already an outcast, an Ishmael.

The babe is weaned from mother's breast and made inconsolable. It cries and cannot be soothed. Neither music, singing

nor stories can distract it. Efforts to shame the baby do no good. Melville does not want to grow up. He keeps crying for the breast.

How does the baby, weaned, thrust away from the breast, cope with the world? By a technique of oral mastery. From passively accepting the world as a suckling Melville could essentially go but another step to biting and devouring it. This would be the little child who masters everything by putting everything within reach into its mouth and biting on it. Melville's techniques for coping with the world remained essentially very infantile ones.

Melville, Jarl, Samoa, King Media of Mardia and others leave in canoes to search the world for Yillah.

"But what monsters of canoes. Would they devour an innocent voyager? The prow of the foremost terminated in a large, open shark's mouth, garnished with ten rows of pearly human teeth, curiously inserted in the sculptured wood."

In the pursuit for Yillah, Taji is himself pursued. Three sons of the slain priest seek vengeance and want his death. These three represent Melville's brothers, Gansevoort, Allan and Tom. Also Taji is pursued by three maidens, heralds from a mysterious Queen Hautia. They try to lure and entice him to her. She represents the sexual temptations in the marriage relationship and the sexual elements in the bond with mother. Melville tries to maintain his innocence, to repudiate his sexual strivings either for Elizabeth or for mother. The blame is transferred to Hautia. She is the one who does the seducing. From the sexual Hautia Taji flees just as Melville fled psychologically from a mature, sexual relationship with Elizabeth. We have mentioned before Melville's remark that at times he felt the need to run from Elizabeth, to escape from her.

The messages from Hautia are subtly given in the form of flower symbolism. For example, among others, Venus-car and Circe flowers are brought to him by the Heralds. The Venus-car would reflect the sexual love, the Circe flowers, through the Circe legend, the sexual sorceries Melville tried to withstand just as Ulysses had tried to withstand the sorceries of Circe. There is another interesting association to the Circe flowers that may have unconsciously determined Melville to use them, Circe and Ulysses had a son Telegonus who subsequently unwittingly killed his father in battle.

Among other places, they land on the island of Donjalolo whose monarch just turned twenty-five is so feminine that he is called Fonoo, the Girl. Marjora, an ancestor of Donjalolo's had murdered his brother Teei in a dispute over succession to the sovereignty. Thereafter it was decreed by a sacred oracle that the ruler of Juam was never to leave the glen of Willamilla, where the murder of Teei had taken place. To prevent Donjalolo from taking a contemplated trip abroad to visit Mardi which might have made him renounce claim to succession in order not to lose freedom and the pleasure of roving, his father had committed suicide. It was his method of forcing Donjalolo into the instant assumption of the honors thus suddenly inherited.

This is a nice disclaiming of murderous wishes. Father wasn't murdered. He committed suicide. Donjalolo shows Melville's vacillation between feminine and masculine positions. On the one hand he shows a renunciation of masculinity, is fearful, anxious, terrified that ancestral ghosts may return, is melancholy, feminine, the Girl. On the other hand he openly lives out his wishes related to his masculine position. He possesses all the women, has a harem of thirty wives, one for each night of the moon. He gives his visitors a feast in his palace in the pavement of which are inlaid the skeletons of his sires. "How the living triumph over the dead," one of the characters says. Donjalolo's sceptre is the very thigh bone of the murdered Teei. Over the very bones of the murdered sire and brothers Melville feasts and glories in what he has done.

As the travels continue Jarl and Samoa eventually decide to stay behind, to go home and let Taji pursue his course. They end by being murdered by the avenging three sons of the slain priest. We saw before that Melville saved his life by leaving the maternal Arcturion. Flight from home had one of its roots in the dread of retribution, murder for murder.

The great dread of retribution, the great guilt associated with his strivings either for masculine or feminine position, coupled with his great trend to dependency made him feel utterly helpless. The more helpless he became the more he had to compensate in imagination by making himself powerful. Only by complete mastery over everything could he deny his complete terrorizing subjugation. This complete mastery was accomplished cannibalistically. He swal-

lowed the world and became its all powerful master. The phantasy was: I am not afraid. Nothing can threaten me. I conquer the world by putting it inside of me. I am the world. I am supreme.

The phantasy is expressed in a long chapter devoted to his dreams. "But beneath me at the equator the earth pulses and beats like a warrior's heart; till I know not whether it be not myself. Methinks all the world are my kin and I invoke them to stay in their course. Like a frigate I am full with a thousand souls. In me many worthies recline and converse (among others are mentioned St. Paul, Montaigne, Augustine, Zeno, Democrites, Plato, Zoroaster)," "I walk a world that is mine."

The phantasy of the world as something to eat is remarkably set forth in a long account of a fanciful geological theory, the Celebrated Sandwich System. Descriptions are given of the earth in its various geological epochs all in terms of food. For example nature's first condition is described as a soup. The following is quoted as a sample.

"Next the Chalk or Coral Sandwich — but no dry fare for that — made up of rich side courses — eocene, miocene and pliocene. The first was wild game for the delicate — bantam larks, curlews, quails and flying weasels; with a slight sprinkling of pilaus — capons, pullets, plovers and garnished with petrels eggs. Very savoury, that my lord. The second side course — miocene — was out of course, flesh after fowl — marine mammalia — seals, grampus, and whales, served up with seaweed on their flanks, hearts and kidneys devilled, and fins and flappers fricassee. The third side course was goodliest of all — whole roasted elephants, rhinoceroses, and hippopotamuses, stuffed with boiled ostriches, condors, cassowaries, turkeys. Also barbecued mastodons and megatheriums, gallantly served up with fir trees in their mouths and tails cocked."

There is implied here the essence of Melville's relation to the world, "Feed me."

Later in the story a remarkable supper is given by a King Abruzza. In describing it Melville makes references to suppers given by Jove, Woden, Brahma, Xerxes, Montezuma, Powhattan, Pharaoh, Caesar, Pompey, Pluto, Emperors, Czars, etc. At the supper occurs a very long discussion about writers from which I select and condense.

The Homeric bards are mentioned. They were blind. This blindness was endemic. "Few grand poets have good eyes — for they needs blind must be who ever gaze upon the sun. Vavona himself was blind — when, in the silence of his secret bower, he said — I will build another world. Therein, let there be kings and slaves, philosophers and wits — whose chequered actions will entertain my idle moods. So Vavona played at Kings and Crowns and men and manners and loved that lonely game to play." The writers were solitary. "Like gods, great poets dwell alone — while round them roll the worlds they build."

"What impelled Lombardo (a famous Mardian writer) to write — a full heart, brimful, bubbling, sparkling and running over like the flagon in your hand." The writings are the soul's overflowing. Like rich syrups they slowly ooze.

"We are full of ghosts and spirits — graveyards full of buried dead. All our dead sires are in us. From sire to son we go on multiplying corpses in ourselves — for all of which are resurrections. Every thought's a soul of some past poet, hero, sage. We are fuller than a city."

What agony writers feel. They are consumed by an inward fire, are broken on the wheels of woe, and branded with white heat. "Soft Poet — brushing tears from lilies — this way! and howl in sackcloth and in ashes! Know, thou, that the lines that live are turned out of a furrowed brow. Oh! there is a fierce, a cannibal delight in the grief that shrieks to multiply itself."

As Lombardo writes he gets deeper and deeper into himself, finally coming to a serene, sunny, ravishing region, full of sweet scents wherein he says, "I have created the creative."

How did Lombardo make acquaintance with the characters in his books? "He first met them in his reveries. They were walking about in him, sour and moody, and for a long time, were shy of his advances, but still importuned they at last grew ashamed of their reserve, they stepped forward, and gave him their hands. After that they were frank and friendly. Lombardo set places for them at his board."

Lombardo said of himself, "I am critic and creator, and as critic, in cruelty surpass all critics, merely, as a tiger, jackals. For ere Mardi sees aught of mine, I scrutinize it myself, remorseless as a surgeon.

I cut right and left. I probe, tear and wrench, kill, burn, and destroy."

Lombardo wrote half-blind, with throbbing temples and a pain in his heart.

His great book, the *Kostanza*, he called the child of some fond dotard. "This poor child of mine must go out to get bread for its sire."

We have seen Melville's tendency to withdraw from the world, to "swallow it and devour it." Writing is of therapeutic importance because it helps to preserve the world and its figures and to re-establish some friendly relationships with them. This is a very important function. Melville is a graveyard, full of buried dead, ghosts, spirits and corpses. All his loved objects are within him. They have been orally incorporated and keep being destroyed as his insatiable hostility persists. Writing is a way of bringing the corpses back to life. It is creativeness struggling to conquer his destructiveness. The combat is easily seen. From the side of destructiveness he refers to himself as his self critic, in cruelty surpassing all critics as a tiger surpasses jackals. He is remorseless as a surgeon, cuts right and left, probes, tears, wrenches, kills, burns, destroys. This is Melville "in hell," in the lowermost depths, his hot heart hissing within him, consumed by some internal fire, tortured, branded at white heat, broken on the wheel, suffering, grieving, melancholy. The whole essence of psychoanalytic insight into the nature of melancholia is contained in Melville's extraordinary statement that there is a fierce, a cannibal delight in grief. Against this grieving cannibal is Melville the writer who tries to conquer his destructiveness by creation.

The objects within him threatened by destruction he saves by putting outside of himself back into the world as characters in his books. They shake hands with him, become frank and friendly. They are preserved from cannibalistic destruction. Remarkably the writer sets places for them at his board. Quite in contrast to eating them!

Melville retreats from the world, breaks off relations with it but, as we have seen, attempts some restitution in writing. Alone, solitary, withdrawn, a God, he makes another world, his own, peopling it with kings and slaves, philosophers and wits.

The creativeness that opposed Melville's destructiveness has a specific characteristic. We have seen Melville's tendency to renounce his masculinity. His need for a feminine identification and his need to be creative rather than destructive joined together. In his feminine identification creativeness could mean bearing a child. The great literary work, *Kostanza*, is called a child of many prayers. "In its very childhood, this poor child of mine must go out into *Mardi* and get bread for its sire." It might be mentioned that while planning "Moby Dick" Melville referred to the book he was to create as a festus kicking in the walls of his womb. It was dedicated to a father-figure, Hawthorne, who sometime before had dropped "germinous seeds" in Melville's soul. There is even some suggestive evidence that it took nine months to write "Moby Dick" so that there is a complete feminine representation.

Furthermore the feminine identification is established not only by the equating of the product of writing with the child that has been borne but the very process of writing itself is equated with a feminine activity, one, as we know, of most importance for Melville, the activity of nursing. In his writing Melville identified himself with the mother whose breasts are filled with milk. The flowing breasts he set up within himself. The flowing, the writing could hence be cause for great joy. We read of Lombardo's full heart, brimful, bubbling, sparkling, and running over, and of his souls overflowings. Lombardo wrote on and on and got deeper and deeper into himself, into this identification with the nursing mother, a region of sunny serenity, full of sweet scents wherein he could feel he had created the creative.

The renunciation of masculinity is seen in the blindness endemic with great poets. Blindness is a common symbol of castration. Witness the Sophoclean version of the Oedipus tragedy wherein Oedipus blinds himself for the double crime of parricide and cohabitation with his mother. Lombardo writes half blinded. Melville was half blind in the writing of "Moby Dick." He felt then as a moose, hamstrung, another castration symbol.

The suffering so manifest in the writing activity, the blindness, the throbbing temples, the pain at the heart, the agonies are a working off of guilt feelings. They are punishments for evil wishes. As a result, perhaps, Melville did not have to repeat his earlier pattern of self-banishment in flight. The punishment, the suffer-

ing, the privations involved in the early flights from home were later manifested in the activity of writing.

At the end of the book Taji finds Hautia. She tells him, "Thou but comest here to supplant thy mourner's nightshade with marriage roses." She tempts him with wine and flowers. "Come, let us sin and be merry," she says. Taji spurns her and all alone continues his quest for Yillah still pursued by the three sons of the slain priest.

"And thus—pursuers and pursued flew on, over an endless sea."

I do not know how long it took to write "Mardi." It must have been completed just about the time Elizabeth completed her pregnancy and gave birth to a son.

Much of "Mardi" is an examination of the world and its institutions, politics, democracy, monarchy, slavery, religion. The point is that everything is found wanting. With Yillah gone the world was blighted for Taji.

The next book, "Redburn," tells the story of Melville's first flight from home, his journey to Liverpool.

What can we learn from "Redburn" to help us understand Melville's flight? On the very first page occurs a simple and direct explanation. "I was then but a boy. Some time previous my mother had removed from New York to a pleasant village on the Hudson River, where we lived in a small house, in a quiet way. Sad disappointments in several plans which I had sketched for my future life; the necessity of doing something for myself, united to a naturally roving disposition, had now conspired within me, to send me to sea as a sailor." This is amplified on several occasions. We learn that Melville felt depressed, discouraged and terribly bitter. He felt thwarted in all the ambitions he had nursed and was made envious by some of his more fortunate cousins. Let us read some of his statements.

"It was with a heavy heart and full eyes, that my poor mother parted with me, perhaps she thought me an erring and wilful boy, and perhaps I was; but if I was, it had been a hard-hearted world, and hard times had made me so. I had learned to think much and bitterly before my time; all my young mounting dreams of glory had left me; and at that early age, I was as unambitious as a man of sixty."

"Yes, I will go to sea; cut my kind uncles and aunts, and sympathizing patrons, and leave no heavy hearts but those in my own home, and take none along but the one which aches in my bosom. Cold, bitter cold as December, and bleak as its blasts, seemed the world then to me; there is no misanthrope like a boy disappointed; and such was I, with the warm soul of me flogged out by adversity."

A little later we read:

"Talk not of the bitterness of middle age and after life; a boy can feel all that, and much more, when upon his young soul the mildew has fallen; and the fruit, which with others is only blasted after ripeness, with him is nipped in the first blossom and bud. And never again can such blights be made good; they strike in too deep and leave such a scar that the air of Paradise might not erase it. And it is a hard and cruel thing thus in early youth to taste beforehand the pangs which should be reserved for the stout time of manhood, when the gristle has become bone, and we stand up and fight out our lives, as a thing tried before and foreseen; for then we are veterans used to sieges and battles, and not green recruits, recoiling at the first shock of the encounter."

As the boat sails Melville's heart is like lead. He tries to keep from thinking of the happy times that are no longer. "But I must not think of those delightful days, before my father became a bankrupt, and died, and we removed from the city; for when I think of those days, something rises up in my throat and almost strangles me."

"Now, as we sailed through the Narrows, I caught sight of that beautiful fort on the cliff, and could not help contrasting my situation now, with what it was when with my father and uncle I went there so long ago. Then I never thought of working for my living and never knew that there was hard hearts in the world; and knew so little of money, that when I bought a stick of candy, and laid down a sixpence, I thought that the confectioner returned five cents, only that I might have money to buy something else, and not because the pennies were my change, and therefore mine by good rights. How different my idea of money now!"

"Then I was a schoolboy, and thought of going to college in time; and had vague thoughts of becoming a great orator like Patrick Henry whose speeches I used to speak on the stage; but now,

I was a poor friendless boy, far away from my home, and voluntarily in the way of becoming a miserable sailor for life. And what made it more bitter for me, was to think of how well off were my cousins, who were happy and rich, and lived at home with my uncles and aunts, with no thought of going to sea for a living. I tried to think that it was all a dream, that I was not where I was, not on board of a ship, but that I was at home again in the city with my father alive, and my mother bright and happy as she used to be. But it would not do."

We can truly sympathize with Melville, but his statements do not portray the whole situation. He did, after all, have kind relatives who wanted to help him. Why could he not avail himself of the help offered him and strenuously attempt to make his mark in the world? Why was he so unable to tackle the tasks awaiting him at home? Especially in America it was not uncommon for poor boys in much worse situations than Melville's to achieve success. There was no disposition on Melville's part to face the difficulties nor any effort to conquer them. We see rather an evasion, an inability to face adversity. It is significant that even in going to sea there was no particular thought of finding a career on it. In short there was no looking ahead, only a longing for the past.

We know from our previous analysis how it was with Melville. He felt lost, deserted, thrust away from his mother's breast. It is the memory of this loss that keeps him bitter. Consider his early impressions of the sea itself.

"As I looked at it so mild and sunny, I could not help calling to mind my little brother's face, when he was sleeping an infant in the cradle. It had just such a happy, careless, innocent look; and every happy little wave seemed gamboling about like a thoughtless little kid in a pasture; and seemed to look up in your face as it passed, as if it wanted to be patted and caressed. They seemed all live things with hearts in them, that could feel; and I almost felt grieved, as we sailed in among them, scattering them under our broad bows in sun-flakes, and riding over them like a great elephant among lambs."

"But what seemed perhaps the most strange to me of all, was a certain wonderful rising and falling of the sea; I do not mean the waves themselves, but a sort of wide heaving and swelling and sinking all over the ocean. It was something I can not very

well describe; but I know very well what it was, and how it affected me. It made me almost dizzy to look at it; and yet I could not keep my eyes off it, it seemed so passing strange and wonderful."

The wonderful sensation was that at the mother's breast. Pushed away from this paradise by little brothers and sisters he felt cast out of the world altogether. This is what he says of his feelings as the boat gets out of the Narrows. "After sunset we got fairly 'outside,' and well may it so be called; for I felt thrust out of the world." Being so thrust out he felt bitter and enraged, the little cannibal we have previously described. As Melville himself, writes in "Redburn," "I was naturally of an easy and forbearing disposition; though when such a disposition is temporarily roused, it is perhaps worse than a cannibal's." The world that had failed him he felt like destroying. On ship it certainly seemed to Melville as though everyone were against him. The sailors showed him no sympathy and unmercifully taunted him. Particularly did he suffer from the presence of an evil sailor, Jackson. "He seemed to be full of hatred and gall against everything and everybody in the world; as if all the world was one person, and had done him some dreadful harm, that was rankling and festering in his heart. Sometimes I thought he was really crazy; and often felt so frightened at him, that I thought of going to the captain about it, and telling him Jackson ought to be confined, lest he should do some terrible thing at last." He cannot avoid Jackson's evil eye, nor escape his bitter enmity. "And his being my foe, set many of the rest against me; or at least they were afraid to speak out for me before Jackson; so that at last I found myself a sort of Ishmael in the ship, without a single friend or companion; and I began to feel a hatred growing up in me against the whole crew — so much so, that I prayed against it, that it might not master my heart completely, and so make a fiend of me, something like Jackson."

We come immediately to one motive in Melville's flight from home. He felt thwarted, thrust away from mother, unable to displace Gansevoort from his more important position or father from his shrine in mother's heart. Father had made several trips abroad. For one reason it was to imitate father that Melville went abroad. Significantly he went to Liverpool where father had also

been. Like father he was to return in glory, to be admired and envied, to displace Gansevoort and be first in his mother's regard.

"Added to these reminiscences my father, now dead, had several times crossed the Atlantic on business affairs, for he had been an importer in Broadstreet. And of winter evenings in New York, by the well-remembered sea-coal fire in old Greenwich-street, he used to tell my brother and me of the monstrous waves at sea, mountain high; of the masts bending like twigs; and all about Havre, and Liverpool, and about going up into the ball of St. Paul's in London. Indeed, during my early life, most of my thoughts of the sea were connected with the land; but with fine old lands, full of mossy cathedrals and churches, and long, narrow, crooked streets without sidewalks, and lined with strange houses. And especially I tried hard to think how such places must look of rainy days and Saturday afternoons; and whether indeed they did have rainy days and Saturdays there, just as we did here; and whether the boys went to school there, and studied geography, and wore their shirt collars turned over, and tied with a black ribbon; and whether their papas allowed them to wear boots, instead of shoes, which I so much disliked, for boots looked so manly."

"As I grew older my thoughts took a larger flight, and I frequently fell into long reveries about distant voyages and travels, and thought how fine it would be, to be able to talk about remote and barbarous countries; with what reverence and wonder people would regard me, if I had just returned from the coast of Africa or New Zealand; how dark and romantic my sunburnt cheeks would look; how I would bring home with me foreign clothes of a rich fabric and princely make, and wear them up and down the streets, and how grocers' boys would turn back their heads to look at me, as I went by."

After describing his father's library, he writes, "And there was a copy of D'Alembert in French, and I wondered what a great man I would be, if by foreign travel I should ever be able to read straight along without stopping, out of that book, which now was a riddle to every one in the house but my father, whom I so much liked to hear talk French, as he sometimes did to a servant we had."

"As years passed on, this continual dwelling upon foreign associations, bred in me a vague prophetic thought, that I was fated, one day or other to be a great voyager; and that just as my father used to entertain strange gentlemen over their wine after dinner, I would hereafter be telling my own adventures to an eager auditory. And I have no doubt that this presentiment had something to do with bringing about my subsequent rovings."

Later he writes, "And I tried to think all the time, that I was going to England, and that, before many months, I should actually have been there and home again, telling my adventures to my brothers and sisters; and with what delight they would listen, and how they would look up to me then, and reverence my sayings; and how that even my elder brother would be forced to treat me with great consideration, as having crossed the Atlantic Ocean, which he had never done, and there was no probability he ever would."

In the first place, then, the journey to Liverpool was an imitation of father, an attempt to become the father and occupy the desired position at home. Mother would welcome Herman as the new father figure and Gansevoort would be relegated to obscurity. This trend as we know went much further and involved very guilty wishes, sexual desires for mother and murderous wishes towards father and the brothers. Guilt, remorse and dread of retribution, as we saw from "Mardi" made the journey from home a flight, a self-banishment. In a later poem, "Timoleon," the motive of self-banishment is clearly expressed. Timoleon banished himself because he permitted the murder of his tyrant brother Timophanes. In connection with the flight as self-banishment we must point out that the punishment involved, the hardships and privations, were balm for a bad conscience and necessitated by evil wishes. He felt himself wicked, fit only for the company of others just as wicked, the sailors, those dregs and off-scourings of humanity. The theme of a guilty flight is seen in "Moby Dick," too, in the sermon about Jonah, who, full of guilt, tries to escape and find some place to hide. The sailors on the ship upon which Jonah embarks in his flight see his guilt at a glance. They wonder what awful crime he has committed and it is interesting that the crime of parricide is mentioned.

The dread of retribution would make the flight a measure of safety and protection as we also saw from "Mardi."

A strong trend in Melville was to give up his fight for mother, to atone for the "murder" of his father, to bring him back to life and to be loved by him. This implied a renunciation of his masculinity. Instead of competing with father for mother, he would make himself like mother, identify himself with her and, like her, be loved by father. In going to Liverpool, Melville not only imitated father, but tried to bring him back to life.

The search for father becomes manifest even on board ship. The captain is the father surrogate.

"What reminded me most forcibly of my ignominious condition, was the widely altered manner of the captain toward me. I had thought him a fine, funny gentleman, full of mirth and good humor, and good will to seamen, and one who could not fail to appreciate the difference between me and the rude sailors among whom I was thrown. Indeed, I had made no doubt that he would in some special manner take me under his protection, and prove a kind friend and benefactor to me; as I had heard that some sea-captains are fathers to their crew; and so they are; but such fathers as Solomon's precepts tend to make — severe and chastising fathers, fathers whose sense of duty overcomes the sense of love, and who everyday, in some sort, play the part of Brutus, who ordered his son away to execution, as I have read in our old family Plutarch."

"Yes, I thought that Captain Riga, for Riga was his name, would be attentive and considerate to me, and strive to cheer me up, and comfort me in my lonesomeness. I did not even deem it at all impossible that he would invite me down into the cabin of a pleasant night, to ask me questions concerning my parents, and prospects in life; besides obtaining from me some anecdotes touching my great-uncle, the illustrious senator, or give me a slate and pencil, and teach me problems in navigation; or perhaps engage me at a game of chess. I even thought he might invite me to dinner on a sunny Sunday, and help me plentifully to the nice cabin fare, as knowing how distasteful the salt beef and pork, and hard biscuit of the forecastle must at first be to a boy like me, who had always lived ashore, and at home."

On his trip to Liverpool Melville took with him a highly cherished book, a guide book that his father had used before him when he had been in Liverpool. In the guide book the father had traced the routes of his trips in the city and had marked the hotel at which he had stayed.

"When I left home, I took the green morocco guide-book along, supposing that from the great number of ships going to Liverpool, I would most probably ship on board of one of them, as the event itself proved."

"Great was my boyish delight at the prospect of visiting a place, the infallible clew to all whose intricacies I held in my hand."

"On the passage out I studied its pages a good deal. In the first place, I grounded myself thoroughly in the history and antiquities of the town, as set forth in the chapter I intended to quote. Then I mastered the columns of statistics, touching the advance of population; and pored over them, as I used to do over my multiplication table. For I was determined to make the whole subject my own; and not be content with a mere smattering of the thing, as is too much the custom with most students of guide-books. Then I perused one by one the elaborate descriptions of public edifices, and scrupulously compared the text with the corresponding engraving to see whether they corroborated each other. For be it known, that, including the map, there were no less than seventeen plates in the work. And by often examining them, I had so impressed every column and cornice in my mind, that I had no doubt of recognizing the originals in a moment."

"In short, when I considered that my own father had used this very guide book, and that thereby it had been thoroughly tested, and its fidelity proved beyond a peradventure; I could not but think that I was building myself up in an unerring knowledge of Liverpool; especially as I had familiarized myself with the map, and could turn sharp corners on it, with marvellous confidence and celerity."

Of course Melville discovers that a fifty year old guide book is no longer serviceable.

"But where was I going?"

"I will tell. My intention was in the first place, to visit Rid-dough's Hotel, where my father had stopped, more than thirty

years before: and then, with the map in my hand, follow him through all the town, according to the dotted lines in the diagram. For thus would I be performing a filial pilgrimage to spots which would be hallowed in my eyes."

"At last, when I found myself going down Old Hall-Street toward Lord-Street, where the hotel was situated, according to my authority; and when, taking out my map, I found that Old Hall-Street was marked there, through its whole extent with my father's pen; a thousand fond affectionate emotions rushed around my heart."

"Yes, in this very street, thought I, nay, on this very flagging my father walked. Then I almost wept, when I looked down on my sorry apparel, and marked how the people regarded me; the men staring at so grotesque a young stranger, and the old ladies, in beaver hats and ruffles, crossing the walk a little to shun me."

"How differently my father must have appeared; perhaps in a blue coat, buff vest, and Hessian boots. And little did he think, that a son of his would ever visit Liverpool as a poor friendless sailor boy. But I was not born then: no, when he walked this flagging, I was not so much as thought of; I was not included in the census of the universe. My own father did not know me then; and had never seen, or heard, or so much as dreamed of me. And that thought had a touch of sadness to me; for if it had certainly been, that my own parent, at one time, never cast a thought upon me, how might it be with me hereafter? Poor, poor Wellingborough! thought I, miserable boy! you are indeed friendless and forlorn. Here you wander a stranger in a strange town, and the very thought of your father's having been here before you, but carries with it the reflection that he then knew you not, nor cared for you one whit."

A little later he writes, "So vivid was now the impression of his having been here, and so narrow the passage from which he had emerged, that I felt like running on, and overtaking him around the Town Hall adjoining, at the head of Castle Street. But I soon checked myself, when remembering that he had gone whither no son's reach could find him in this world."

It wasn't so much that the guide book was no longer of avail that distressed Herman as that his father was no longer alive to be his guide, his protector and his comfort.

Also involved in the flight was the phantasy of having been cast off by a cruel mother who, however, because of his suffering would repent and seek him out. The suffering involved in the flight is not only related to guilty feelings but to making mother grieve. In a later story Melville writes that he is an Ishmael thrust from home into the wilderness by a cruel Sarah without even a maternal Hagar to accompany him. In many of his writings Melville refers to himself as Ishmael. In "Moby Dick" he actually gives himself, in the role of narrator, the name of Ishmael. "Call me Ishmael," the book begins. In "Redburn" he refers to a sermon he had once heard in a church in behalf of sailors, "when the preacher called them strayed lambs from the fold, and compared them to poor lost children, babes in the wood, orphans without fathers or mothers." In the later book "Pierre" there is reference to Memnon. According to the myth Memnon, son of the Dawn, was killed by Achilles. The dew was supposed to be tears shed by his mother, who wept every morning over the loss of her son. This perpetual mourning would come only from an extraordinary love. In "Moby Dick" the ship, the Pequod, is finally destroyed by the whale. Only Ishmael survives to be rescued by another boat, the Rachel, "in search of her own missing children" (the captain's son and other sailors lost in one of the small boats). Until the time that mother would come to find him, Melville could feel like the Biblical Ishmael of whom it was prophesied that "his hand will be against every man and every man's hand against him."

In the second flight, especially, another motive can be seen, a denial of his anxiety, helplessness and dependency. It is a reckless assault upon the world, an overly brave facing of its worst terrors, a riding roughshod over his anxieties. It is an attempt to conquer the parasitic suckling. To overcome Bartleby, Ahab is brought into being. Ahab who would spit at the sun and war against the very gods and elements.

Also, as previously recorded in Melville's own words, the flight, again especially the second one, was a suicidal gesture, a leap into the jaws of death. The suicidal motive had several elements, the pain of living, rage, a wish to join father in heaven, and lastly a wish to return to mother's womb. Jonah, it is related in "Moby Dick" quite willingly jumped overboard at the end into the whale's

jaws. In "Redburn" he records a Biblical tradition that it was a female whale which swallowed Jonah.

Finally, the second flight that took him to the cannibal Typees must certainly have been motivated by his own cannibalistic phantasies. The "arch cannibal" at long last reached the very heart of cannibalism.

THE ORIGIN OF THE SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC

An Interpretation from the Psychological Viewpoint

By DORIS WEBSTER (New York)

The Signs of the Zodiac were associated with the human body in ancient and middle age medicine, ailments being treated in accordance with the connection supposed to exist between the various parts of the body and the constellations to which they were mystically related.

There are three possible explanations of the origin of this association: (a) that the Zodiacal signs were transposed to the body from the sky, (b) that the signs were originally symbols of parts of the body and were later assigned to the constellations, and (c) that in identifying the sky with his body the "baptizer" experienced some autosymbolizations which determined the special names given to the twelve signs. These autosymbolizations can still be traced in our unconscious thinking, and possibility (c) is suggested by my own experience.

Because the theories I am offering were reached through an investigation entirely different from researches into archaeology or astronomy, questions posed in this paper are simply questions, directed toward those who have knowledge of these subjects. My own contribution is a method of catching hold of the product of unconscious processes which we all very likely experience but usually cannot remember. These processes are akin to the normal thought processes of primitive man, and may in early days have been fully, or in great part, conscious; at any rate they met with less resistance in being raised from the unconscious. I understand that the same method has been used to get hold of autosymbolizations by Silberer, Varendonck and others, and was employed in normal psychology and in psychiatry to create and observe hypnagogic phenomena.

In trying to trace the change at the turning point of sleep from coherent thought to apparently incoherent nonsense, I found that I could catch and bring back impressions from the different layer of attention into which we sink when we fall asleep. To wake myself and remember my thought-sequence was difficult at first, both

because when one falls asleep one wishes to stay asleep, and also because there seems to be a psychic mechanism which prevents the unconscious fantasy from being detected, and when detected from being remembered. Perhaps this is useful as a safeguard, keeping the memories of actual happenings distinct from the fantasies of sleep. In any case, I had a sense of working against resistance. However, I did bring back a memory that at the turning point of sleep I heard words, or rather they seemed to well up inside me. I was never able to catch them until one night when they were so loud and so startling in their import, that they definitely woke me, so that I could repeat them before they were erased. The words were: *I am a tomb.* I lay still, trying to remember what my previous thoughts had been and wondering why, when I was feeling happy, I had made such a melancholy remark. Suddenly it came to me that my position was like that of a crusader on a tomb. At first it seemed to me impossible that I could have been aware of something of which the conscious "I" was not aware, but I have since learned that the "I" may slip into a different layer of attention. We cannot, of course, be actively conscious of all the things of which we are potentially conscious, and even not of all the things of which we are inactively conscious, and posture is something not unconscious which we do not think about unless we think about it!

After that, it became increasingly easy to catch and record the words, which, as far as I know, come each time I fall asleep, although of course I stay conscious of them only when I deliberately wake myself immediately afterward.

It is a little difficult to describe the sensation of catching the words, because I seem neither to be hearing them with my ears nor speaking them, nor even thinking them. It is rather like talking to oneself, except that in that case one knows immediately what one meant — the ego is the actor. In the case of these words the ego is the audience—or seems to be.

The words are always different, and a new symbol is used each time. In fact out of nearly two hundred records that I have made over the last three or four years there is only one duplicate. They always refer to my posture, or to some unusual surface sensation, like a difference in the way my hair is arranged, or the rough edge of a tooth, or the sheet binding my feet.

The interpretation of the words is not always easy. They are not direct, but express an idea through association, often metaphorically as well. I think that, like dreams, they are always connected with some happening of the day before, and the tracing of this connection often gives me the clue to their meaning. I frequently feel amazed that by complicated association I have unconsciously produced a phrase that fulfils this requirement and at the same time refers to my posture.

To find out if this discovery had any scientific value I wrote to a number of persons—first to Dr. Freud in 1936. He replied in a handwritten letter that he would keep my “very remarkable” observations in mind, as he had never heard or read anything like it before.

Dr. John Dollard of the Yale School of Human Relations was most sympathetic, and encouraged me to send him the observations, offering to keep my records till I wanted them. This was an invaluable service, for otherwise I might not have bothered to keep records.

Dr. Ernest Jones found the brief data I sent him “very interesting” and so did Sir Richard Paget. Dr. Foster Kennedy wrote that he had himself experienced “the phenomenon of the changing of gears when we go asleep.” “I am aware too,” he said, “of the ‘spectral word,’ though I have not had the experience of the word being associated with any part of the body. I shall look out for this, and if I make any observations capable of being recorded I shall communicate with you. In the meantime, I have taken the liberty of sending you a short address in which I describe my own occasional phenomena.”

Most of all I am indebted to Dr. Paul Federn, formerly of Vienna, now of New York City, who has examined my records with the greatest kindness, and curbed some of my enthusiasm for picking up any “scientific” fact that fits into my scheme, in what he calls the manner of a shopper who is getting a Spring outfit and takes what pleases her and ignores the rest. He has encouraged me to write this paper — which does not mean that he endorses everything that I may say.

It is delightful to find men like these whose interest in their field makes them ready to listen to a voice outside the academic

world—a kind of "spectral word" coming from a more primitive organism!

I shall confine this paper, for the most part, to those spectral words that show a parallelism to the Zodiac signs. In the first example, the relationship between the words and my posture is one of idea, rather than of physical resemblance. To any reader familiar with dream work such a connection will not seem artificial, but to me it came at first as a surprise. My first reaction often was "This time the word does not refer to my posture." But the explanation always came to me, and was satisfying. Nevertheless, the explanation which satisfies the dreamer often appears far-fetched to the outsider, whose mental paths would have been quite different. This is particularly true when the matter involves, as this one probably does, a difference in the psychological attitudes of the sexes.

The words were *winter letter*. As usual, I woke with a little difficulty, and kept repeating them. At first they have no meaning—they might be words in a foreign language. Then I realize what the words mean, but they still seem to make no sense.

Since *winter letter* was not immediately intelligible, I asked myself what difference there was between my winter letters and my summer letters, and immediately remembered that the letter paper I used in summer gave my name as Mrs. Samuel C. Webster, while on my winter letter paper I figured as Doris Webster.

Next I took note of my posture. I was lying straight, with one hand on my chest, the fingers spread. The gesture suggested "I," and I think it typically feminine. I think it is a mild form of exhibitionism (or fake modesty!) which, like the slowly moving fan of Victorian days, draws attention to oneself by pretending to conceal oneself. It is amusing to note that the fan, which was discarded when women became less coy, has come back blatantly and vulgarly in the fan dance, and now draws attention not to the breast, which suggests chastity, but to the whole person.

But the hand on the breast is not exclusively a gesture of vanity. Not only the physical person is involved, but also the spiritual "I." To men as well as to women the breast is the center of the ego, or soul, or pneuma—the dwelling place of the breath of life. No gesture except touching the chest goes with the word "I," even though we are well aware that "I" is not located in the chest, but in the head.

This cannot be simply because we point to the body when we say "I," because if that were so it would seem quite reasonable to point to the center of the body, and this we never do. In fact to say "I" with this gesture makes us smile. That isn't "I" at all!

It seems likely, then, that this point in the chest symbolizes for us the personality, or what most people think of as the soul. The reason *winter letter* meant "me" to me was because the name on my summer paper was formal and impersonal, while my first name on my winter paper was intimate and personal — indeed, gave me a slight sense of embarrassment, just as seeing one's name in print gives one a feeling of conspicuousness (not necessarily unpleasant!).

Another time a somewhat similar gesture was accompanied by the words *Holy seed*. This time the "I" was a spirit, rather than a person whose name was in print. The forefinger of my hand touched my chest, so that I must have been conscious of this small surface spot, like a seed. The gesture suggested that the finger was burying the seed, and the words had some Biblical connotation. Another time the hand on the breast gesture went with the words *last year*, referring to a friend of great spirituality who had died the year before, and again the words were *Does . . . know?* referring to another friend who had committed suicide. (I omit the name for personal reasons). Underlying both was the thought of immortality, or the question of where had the spirit gone?

The next example refers to a different gesture, and a less abstract kind of symbolization. The actual words I did not record, but they had something to do with two little heads looking over a wall. My hands were at my shoulders, closed, and represented the little heads, while my shoulders represented the wall.

In another instance, involving still another posture, the words were *Thompson lecture*. I was lying straight, and my hands were touching both sides. After wondering for some time who Thompson might be, and being unable to think of any man of that name who lectured, I suddenly thought that it might refer to Dorothy Thompson. Immediately I remembered a lecture in which she had impersonated two people and taken "both sides" in the controversy over enlarging the Supreme Court, as though she were debating with herself. The underlying idea was not neutrality, but fairness. I never heard anyone refer to this lecture without using the term "both

sides." Nor could that particular posture be easily described without using those words.

The next illustration will be easy to accept because the idea involved is concrete. I will give four examples, showing that the same posture was identified with the same metaphor in the spectral word, though the words were different.

The words *mountains not yet flattened out* I heard one night when I had been up the Hudson River and especially noticed certain lone, symmetrical mountains. The relation to my posture was apparent, for I had fallen asleep with my knees raised. Presumably I unconsciously expected them to be "flattened out" presently. Another time, when I was in the same position, the word was *Julia*. My closed hand represented a person about to climb the hill. The reference was to an early memory of a person of that name whose children helped push her up a hill with their hands on her shoulder blades.

Litchfield! spoken with the note of exultation that would accompany the sudden solution of a puzzle, referred not only to the hill leading into Litchfield, Conn., but also to the two famous "show" sections of that town, one on either side of the hill. My hands, spread out on the mattress, represented these sections. I think the congratulatory note in the words was due to the aptness of the metaphor.

It's impossible! again referred to a mountain. Just as I was about to go to sleep I was going over a conversation in a play I was writing. Without warning, and with no relation to the rest of the conversation, the heroine seemed to say these words as she stood looking up at the hero. With the words sleep came; then I waked myself, and sought the explanation. The day before, when someone was telling us of climbing a mountain and being able at the top to talk to someone on the ground below, my husband had jokingly said, "It's impossible!" Just as the heroine was looking upward in my fantasy, and the woman on the ground was looking up at the mountain in the story, so I was looking up at the mountain represented by my knees — though of course my eyes were closed.

The fifth and last illustration of relationship between words and posture is again a case of concrete resemblance, but this time a complicated one. The words *on the Riverside Drive* were most puzzling at first, and turned out to be astonishing evidence of

the intricate mechanism of unconscious thinking. I thought over different buildings along the Drive, but none of them seemed to "click." Then suddenly I thought of the electric sign advertising Jack Frost sugar that dominates the view, and immediately remembered using a Jack Frost sugar carton at a picnic the day before. But I wondered how this could possibly refer to my posture? All at once it came to me that my predominant sensation was the surface cold spot where one foot touched the other leg, and instantly Jack Frost was explained. He was a symbol of cold, just like an ancient god!

But the significant thing is that in the symbolization the legs were river banks. Ordinarily I would have said "on Riverside Drive," and the addition of the "the" describes the place as a river bank rather than a street. A corresponding symbolization occurred another time. I did not record the words, but they were something about "getting to the other side," and my closed hand, upright, represented a traveller standing on the bank.

There is a parallelism between these spectral words, and their meanings, and the Signs of the Zodiac as shown in their position on the astrological chart of the human body.

Little is known about the origin of the signs. The Zodiac is that band in the heavens, partly below the horizon, partly above, through which the sun apparently passes on its annual course, and its division into twelve sections, corresponding to the twelve lunations, occurred at a period that has not been reached by the searchlight of history. The Zodiac may be traced back with certainty to the time of the Akkadian monarch known as Sargon I, *cir* 2600 B. C., but it probably goes back much farther. Some authorities place the date as not later than the eighth century before Christ. The earliest records we have of such a system seem to have been left by the Babylonians, or Sumerians, though there are theories that it came from a race dwelling in northern Asia.

The constellations in the Zodiaca1 belt were given the names we call the Signs of the Zodiac. Any connection between the star clusters and their symbols is vague, yet the system seems to have struck a chord sympathetic to the people of antiquity, for with some changes the designations were widely accepted. The Egyptians borrowed the Zodiac from the Greeks, as the Greeks had borrowed it from the Babylonians. It went to India by way of Iran and

entered China with the Buddhist missionaries. The Chinese list of the Signs is quite different from those with which we are familiar, and students of Chinese psychology may find significance in the variations.

A. E. Thierens says in "Astrology in Mesopotamian Culture": "In ancient astrology the Zodiacial star groups were considered as 'the twelve houses of the gods' lying at a dwelling street, or dam. Therefore came the nomination 'heavenly dam' for the zodiacal belt of asterisms, and also 'closure of Heaven.' The descriptions apparently include the fact that they were invented and given by people living in low countries on the banks of a river, which from time to time overflowed the land and where, consequently, a dam was needed to build the houses upon."

The widespread acceptance of the Signs, and the uses to which they were put, show on the one hand their universal appeal and on the other the great number of paths down which inquiring minds were pushing. To the scientific astronomer they became charts of the heavens, to the astrologer an elaborate system for analyzing character traits and foretelling the future. Artists and architects made extensive use of them as emblems; myth-makers wove stories around them. Farmers used them as planting guides, and even to this day like to see them in their almanacs, reluctant to give up the glamor and romance that is lacking in the bulletins of the Department of Agriculture. Even hard-boiled tradesmen paid a respectful salute to the Signs, for it is said that the habit of selling by the dozen is an inheritance from the Zodiac.

Religion was intimately concerned with the signs. The twelve tribes of Israel and the twelve sheaves of wheat in Joseph's dream are said to be connected with the Zodiacial symbolism, and each of the twelve apostles was assigned to one of the signs. Medicine was especially affected by the Zodiac. From earliest times man seems to have felt that there was a connection between the signs and different parts of the body, and sought to explain and treat illnesses with regard to this relationship. There is considerable variety in the different charts, but the fundamental pattern is the same.

The sense of this relationship to the body cannot be accidental but must reflect something basic in human psychology. My own experience makes me feel that the so-called Signs of the Zodiac were symbols of the body at the same time that they were applied to the

skies, and that the medical men who subsequently believed that the signs affected the body were like the broker who started a stock market rumor and then, when he heard it, was taken in by it himself.

If the examples of the spectral word that I have given are studied in connection with the symbols on the chart the relationship between them, either of physical resemblance or abstract idea, is apparent.

In the first place, Cancer, the Crab, is located in the chest, where one instinctively places the soul, or at any rate the ego. Cancer is the symbol of the soul, and so was the scarab, which occupies this place in the Egyptian zodiac. (Because of certain habits of this beetle which the Egyptians did not understand, it was supposed to renew its existence, and have the divine power of resurrection.) In the ancient Christian churches Christ is repeatedly called the Scarab. Moreover, the Hebrew name of the month answering to Cancer is Tammuz, and the Assyrian is Dû-zu, both being well known titles of the star deity, who suffers a violent death and is afterwards raised to life. It appears, too, that a nebulous cluster of stars in the constellation Cancer is called Praesepe, meaning the manger in which the legend says Christ was born. Further, this identification of the spiritual qualities with the position on the body held by Cancer is suggested by the words in the Gospel According to St. John: "The only begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father."

But why was the Crab placed in the position? Was it originally a symbol of the soul, and placed on the breast for that reason, or was it a symbol of the breast, and therefore identified with the soul? The latter theory seems to me reasonable. My own thought was that the hand, or hands, placed on the chest, would suggest a crab because of the fingers. In my spectral words my fingers have figured as various long slim objects, like pencils, cigarettes, little snakes and so on. But Dr. Federn thinks it is more likely that the crab was placed on the chest because the bony structure of the breast plate and ribs suggests a crab. The hardness of the body at this spot is like the hardness of the crab's shell. The German name of the breast-plate of armor was in middle ages the "Krebs," or crab.

The second sign which seems to bear a relationship to my spectral word is Gemini, located in the shoulders, where my two hands

represented heads looking over a wall. Gemini symbolizes the hands in astrology.

Some charts show twins in each shoulder, or four altogether. This might be because in sleep the arms are frequently crossed, so that either hand may have a place in either shoulder. Or did the sign symbolize offspring to early man — who wanted more than two?

The third sign that is in line with my spectral word experience is Libra, the Scales. It seems to me extraordinary that my "both sides" gesture, so suggestive of balance, should have been associated with Dorothy Thompson's method of taking "both sides" in her argument defending the integrity of the Supreme Court — the Court which still uses the ancient scales as its emblem!

It will be seen that the sign of Libra is placed at that part of the body which the hands would touch in the "both sides" gesture. Incidentally, in some ancient records a connection is shown between Virgo and Libra. Virgo — which originally implied any virtuous matron — was sometimes called the goddess of Justice, and the balance was her emblem, so that the two constellations were occasionally shown as if connected. Perhaps there were Dorothy Thompsons ten thousand years ago.

It will be seen that except for Libra the signs applied to the legs do not involve abstract ideas. This part of the body has not the emotional relationship to the ego that the torso has. In ancient legend the soul uses the body as its carrier; St. Francis spoke of the body as the ass on which the soul is riding. Nevertheless, the activities represented by the emblems assigned to the lower part of the body were the essentials for preserving life — hunting and fishing. Mountains and rivers were associated with these activities. The other conceptions so far read into the signs — the soul, children, justice — will not keep man alive.

I am told that these symbols of going places are also death symbols. That may reflect man's fear of the outside world. Even the conception of the Zodiac as a dam may be an attempt to put a heavenly barrier in the way of the sea which was supposed to surround the world. The child's desire to venture into the outside world, and his quick dash for home when danger threatens, must have been characteristic of early man.

The symbol Capricornus, the Goat, is placed on the knees. I have given four examples showing that in my unconscious the knees represent hills. The relationship of the goat to the mountain in early thinking is not remote, but very close. In the early pictures of the Signs the goat is almost always shown perched on a mountain top. To the ancients, who identified places with animals, the mountain must have immediately suggested the goat, just as the river was so closely related to ducks in the Egyptian mind that the river god is shown with the head of a duck.

But another symbolization may be involved in this position of the legs. Some of the early pictures of the Zodiac signs show the goat with a fish's tail, and it is a little difficult to get that fish on a mountain top. But when I thought about it before I went to sleep an explanation came to me. If the people who first devised the Signs of the Zodiac lived on a river bank, as is indicated, it is likely that the raised knees may sometimes have suggested a bridge to them, and sometimes a mountain. To place the fish below the bridge was almost inevitable to the mind adjusted to using animal symbols. Indeed, if the posture were the not unusual one of one foot under the opposite knee, Pisces — the foot symbol — would be just where it belongs, the fish having swum up the "river," the symbol assigned to the space between the legs. My own unconscious has never identified the raised knees with a bridge, so far as I know, but I once made a similar portrayal with my arms when one represented an arch, and the other went underneath it. The words were *London going under* and referred to a place in London where one street goes under another, a scene which is vivid to me because of a family story connected with it. It so fascinated a small cousin of mine that he talked about it for years and identified the spot unexpectedly when he went back to London as an adult.

Fluvius, the River god, sometimes called the Waterman, is placed between the legs. Besides the obvious physical explanation there is the further possibility that the legs suggest the river banks. This is characteristic of dreams I have been told, and is also in line with my spectral word about the traveller on the river bank who wanted to get to the other side. The location of Pisces, the fishes, at the feet, and also at the end of the river is natural. It is

also strangely symbolic of man's origin in the sea. In some Zodiac Pisces figures as a canal, perhaps reflecting a similarity between the local geography and the canal-like space between the heels when one lies straight.

The words on the *Riverside Drive* are another example of the legs suggesting river banks. But alas, the banks of the Hudson are decorated with advertising signs instead of ducks, and the spectral word adjusts to the new order.

Another adjustment to city life is shown in my spectral word symbolization of the legs as streets, probably in line with early man's use of the river banks as travel roads. A number of times I have reproduced street outlines in my posture — once the complicated intersections at Tenth Street and Second Avenue, New York.

Those signs on the chart of the human anatomy that I have not yet referred to are chiefly the ones which would naturally have no counterpart in my own experience. For instance, archery, which was so important to the ancients, does not come into my life at all. But the location of this sign in the mountain and river region seems logical. Moreover, it occurs to me that the legs frequently follow the outline of a bow, one straight, the other bent. In some Zodiac Sagittarius is represented not by the archer but by the bow. A somewhat similar posture has been represented in my own spectral word by the number 4. (This is the duplication I referred to above — the only symbol that I have used twice in the same way.) Such a posture is like the fish-under-the-mountain posture — one foot under the opposite knee. I noticed that a recent magazine cover showing a dancer in this position made several people say, "See, it's a number 4."

The representation of the archer as a centaur suggests that the legs also represented riding to the Babylonians. I have read that the instruction of the young Babylonians was chiefly concerned with three matters — archery, riding and truth-telling. The symbol of the centaur indicates an interest in the first two subjects — if not in the third!

Leo is another symbol I do not duplicate, but its location on the diaphragm may indicate man's early delight in roaring — still duplicated by anybody's small boy. Indeed, even today the male adult sometimes roars on city streets at two o'clock in the morning.

when alcohol has removed some of the varnish of civilization. He also roars collectively at ball games. And a wife tells me that her husband once roared in his sleep and later admitted that he had been leading a procession of lions.

Aries, the Ram, located in the head, was duplicated in very modern form by a friend of mine, an ambitious young musician. I had asked him to notice whether he could hear the spectral word, and he reported next day that he had heard the words *Gene Buck* and that he was doubled up with his head down, as though bucking. This example, and all the others (except two) that I have given, occurred before I had any idea that there was supposed to be a connection between parts of the body and the Signs of the Zodiac. The pictures I had probably glanced at in almanacs show lines leading from the body to the signs, and I did not give much thought to the symbolization. It was when I read that Silberer and others had made a study of this relationship that I discovered that some of my spectral words had paralleled the signs.

Taurus, the Bull, located in the neck is probably more likely to be represented in male psychology. Dr. Federn suggests that the bull was symbolic of the burden bearer. I wonder, also, whether the slaying of the bull could have been associated with the neck. Once when my hand was turned edgewise to my neck the word was *Labor* and referred to a skit I had seen the day before in which the Secretary of Labor was decapitated. Another time the word had something to do with a "big block," and again my hand was at my neck as though cutting my head off. It referred to a big block of snow I had seen carted away in a solid chunk — but any skeptics reading this article are welcome to read into it another significance. Another illustration, which does not refer to the neck, may be of interest in this connection. The words were *he lived in Paris*. For a long while I could make no sense out of it, nor did it seem to have any relation to my posture. Then I was suddenly aware that my fingers were on either side of my ear, like scissors, and I knew that I was referring to the gruesome story about Van Gogh, who cut his ear off.

The two sex symbols are easy to explain. The sex symbolism of Scorpius is made clear in some of the early Babylonian representations. Virgo represents the female, but I think abstractly, as

the "female principle." She is identified with fruitfulness, and sometimes is represented by the symbol of an ear of corn. Stephen Langdon says in "Tammuz and Ishtar:" "The first concepts of deity (in Babylonia) were absolutely genderless, the masculine element perhaps predominating." Instinctually they introduced the figure of a woman on the male figure. Less abstract symbolism, however, is shown in some of the Zodiacial representations of other countries. In a Roman representation Virgo is pictured as a woman and a unicorn; in an Indian one she is shown seated before a fire. In this connection I was interested to read of a visualization that came to Varendonck as he turned the corner of sleep — the picture of a flat stone falling on embers that continued to glow all night. He also quotes Berguer as hearing the words "Un feu toit de petite claire"—a fire roof of small clear. These examples are not interpreted by the authors as referring to posture, but they would be in line with the Zodiac symbolism.

With me, Virgo was represented once by words which I interpret as referring to heredity, featuring the names of the two women who would have been the grandmothers of my child if I had had one. This interpretation is reasonable, as I had been reading a book on heredity.

My only experience of anything suggesting Pisces is the "Jack Frost" symbolism already referred to, which may be a poetic version of cold fish! I am told that in the early days it was the custom to sleep with the feet uncovered, and primitive man may well have felt that his feet were fishes.

All these illustrations seem to show that the signs apply too aptly to the body to indicate that the symbols of the constellations were applied to the body arbitrarily, in the same sequence that existed in the skies. On the other hand, if they were originally symbols of the members of the body it is strange that some of them fit so well into their celestial positions. Macrobius suggests, for instance, that the Crab sign was so named because the sun retrogrades at this point, like a crab walking backward, that the Wild Goat marks the place where the sun begins to mount in the skies, like a climbing goat, and that the goat's fish tail symbolized the rains and floods of the winter season. Libra is explained by the fact that at this point the days and nights are of equal length, or balanced.

The explanation that they were devised simultaneously seems reasonable. Because of man's narcissistic conception of the universe, everything he was interested in became a representation of himself. It seems possible that in naming the constellations in the zodiac he used the body symbols that best fitted in with the stars in the sky, and the seasons when they were in dominant positions. Naturally some happy coincidences resulted, to the satisfaction of the originators and confusion of later investigators.

The identification of the body with the skies is apparent in other symbolizations. The vertebra bones of the neck, for example, were identified with the planets. (Only five planets were known at that time, but the sun and moon were counted with them.) The identification of the head with the sun is another favorite symbolization. Once my spectral word was *what country is this?* and I found that my arms were encircling my head—representing the sun on the Japanese flag which I had especially noticed the day before.

In interpreting my spectral words I can retrace the changing racial thought patterns, beginning with the animistic conception of the world, based on man's narcissism, as first described by Hanns Sachs. It is curious that the animal symbols, so important in the early zodiacs, and used to the exclusion of all other symbols in the Chinese zodiac, are the very ones that I leave out. Symbols were later drawn from agriculture, and this form of symbolization is reflected in my spectral word *Holy seed*. Other nature symbols of my own experience were not drawn from agriculture. *I am a tree* came when I was laying with one arm extended above my head. *Shaggy fern* came in Spring when the ferns were unfolding. My forearm was upright against my face, with the fingers curled. The only animal symbol I have recorded was an association between my nails, lying against my arm, and the teeth of a dog.

There are many items that I find in writings on ancient Babylonia that seem to fit in with these theories. The epic of Gilgamesh is a kind of "Pilgrim's Progress" representing man's search for immortality, and many scholars believe that the signs of the Zodiac are represented by the twelve tablets recording the life of the hero. His strange "twin," the slaying of the bull, the adventure with the scorpion men, the flood, and so on, are recorded in the story.

From papers by Stephen Langdon I learn that plays on words were characteristic of the dreams of the Babylonians. This I have observed in my spectral words, guided by Freud's interpretations. Distinctions between the right and left hand were emphasized in Babylonia, and occur frequently in my experience. Orientation in dreams was considered significant. In my spectral words I am far more aware of the points of the compass than I am when I am conscious. For instance, once when I had just turned over the words were *turned West*. It took me some moments to figure out that it really was west I was facing.

But what interests me most is the discovery that all through the Babylonian tablets there is mention of "the word." Could this refer to the same phenomenon that I have noticed? It may be an echo of a very primitive form of thinking — one that was almost erased even then. It has occurred to me that it might be a device to keep the animal from falling asleep in an unsafe place—a kind of last minute check up to recall him to himself. Several times my words have been a sharp warning of an uncomfortable position. For instance *take it out from under!* came as an order when my hand was uncomfortably doubled under my back. Yet, as usual, the words meant nothing to me at first, and I was surprised when I discovered their meaning.

In writing objectively, I have avoided using terms that describe the words as they seem to me. My instinct is to say "it" said, or even "she" said, and it is only because I know that the words are not from the outside that I shun these terms, which might seem to suggest mysticism. But to the ancients, if they experienced them, the words would seem like messages from another world. "The Babylonians," says Mr. Langdon, "first personified the word of God." This conception found its way to Greece. It is reflected in the opening verses of *The Gospel According to St. John*:

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.

The same was in the beginning with God.

All things were made by him; and without him was not anything made that was made.

In him was life; and the life was the light of men,

And the light shineth in darkness; and the darkness comprehended it not.

Is it possible that the spectral word is a phenomenon of which the Babylonians, or their predecessors, were aware long before the dawn of history; that then, as now, it personified parts of the body; that then, as now, it seemed so unrelated to conscious thinking that it appeared to be a voice from outside the personality, and that it was the foundation of the conception of religion that resulted in the Hebrew and Christian systems. The religions that see men as "the children of God" have a dignity that is quite lacking in primitive demonologies, founded on direct fear. Mr. Langdon says that to the Babylonians "man in his natural condition . . . is protected by a divine spirit whom they conceived of as dwelling in their bodies along with their souls, or 'the breath of life.'" This identification with divinity must have developed their self-confidence. They had a sense of oneness with the Creator. Although demonology entered their religion, the original Zodiac signs seem to be free from fear or cruelty.

In the Babylonian temples the Holy of Holies was so tiny a room that it was sometimes almost filled by the pedestal of the statue of the god. Was this, too, due to a feeling of intimacy, reflecting the idea of god dwelling in man? Then, too, it was part of the Babylonian doctrine that the most terrible fate that could befall a man was to be punished for his misdeeds by having his god depart from him, and take up his abode elsewhere.

Man was ever concerned with the two great mysteries, human personality and the universe beyond the earth. Since all things on earth were supposed to be copies of things celestial, it is inevitable that his narcissistic, yet spiritual, conception of the world should have extended to the skies, and that he should have written his name in one grand swing around the heavens.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

This article presents a method of approaching certain psychoanalytic problems which is not on the beaten track, but has been used now and then before to the benefit of our science. It is not accessible for everyone, being based on the rare gift of quick and accurate self-observation. Some persons have learned, by cultivating this faculty, to perceive their mental processes in *statu nascendi*. The results of these "shortcuts" are distinguished by their immediate directness which makes them a valuable addition to the insight gained by means of the "orthodox" technique.

While this method is unable to open the gates of the Unconscious, it offers a great deal of new information about the processes in the Pre-Conscious, and especially about the mechanism by which the contents of the Pre-Conscious are brought under the influence and eventually under the domination of the Primary Process (Primaer. Vorgang). There is no better way to study what Freud called "Traum-Arbeit," i. e. the manner in which important and unimportant day-residues are arranged, in order to mold them into the manifest dream-content. In this article we get, so to speak, a glimpse into the workshop with the help of the acute self-observation of the author and her free associations which explain the meaning of her "spectral" words. These words belong to the hypnagogic phenomena, but have the hallucinatory character of dreams.

It is of the highest interest to learn that all these associations lead towards the body and its momentary position. We know Scherner's old "Leibreiz" (body-stimulation) theory and the discussion of it in Freud's "Dream-Interpretation." This article hints at something similar, but founded on actual observation and in full conformation with psychoanalytic experience. Moreover, it has much in common with the description given by a great psychologist—not a scientist, but a novelist: Marcel Proust who describes in several instances how the hypnagogic pictures and eventually the dreams are modelled out of the material given by the position and the sensations of the body.

Without going into theory too deeply it may be stated that the function of "narcissistic regression" in falling asleep has never been demonstrated more convincingly. We see how the narcissistic

kathexis of the body or of certain parts of it during the state of somnolence introduces sleep. The "spectral" words, as interpreted by the association, represent a projection of the kathexis, the characteristic compromise between the tendency towards full narcissistic regression and the remnants of interest in the outside world (object-libido). The puzzling question how much of this special mechanism is due to the sex of the self-observer remains unanswered for the present.

The m. e. does not feel exactly the same way about the second part of the article, concerning the signs of the Zodiac. Anyway, his personal opinion would not justify the curtailment of a work that has been conceived as an entity by its author. The connections which she works out may seem surprising to some, but there is nothing irrational or astrological about them. Besides, they are interspersed with observations which are too good to be missed.

The managing editor.

SOME NOTES, HISTORICAL AND PSYCHOANALYTICAL ON THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL AND THE LAND OF ISRAEL WITH SPECIAL REFERENCES TO DEUTERONOMY

By E. M. ROSENZWEIG (Scranton, Penn.)

In recent studies, the writer had occasion to note the remarkable absence in post-Biblical Judaism of any vestige of the worship of a mother-goddess. The word "remarkable" was used advisedly, in view of the fact that the Judaic religion developed in a culture area where the cult of the mother-goddess was universal. How did it happen that a form of worship so deeply rooted in the folk soil could wither away to nothing? It is scarcely an easy matter to deprive a people of an essential part of its thought-patterns without supplying an adequate substitute.¹ In Christianity, which also grew up in that same culture area, there is at least the presence of Mary in the theology to remind us of one phase of Christianity's Semitic origin.²

Interest in the question so briefly stated here led the writer to a reflective inquiry resulting in then unsupported hypotheses involving early Hebraic and general Semitic practice, as well as psychoanalytic theory as it seemed to bear upon ethnographic data. The study here presented is a result of investigation of all materials involved in the attempt to test the validity of those hypotheses. It has been the particular concern of the writer to examine the extent to which the field of psychoanalytic teaching can be employed to throw light upon otherwise unclear phenomena involved in general studies, such as this one. He has availed himself of the

1. Reik in "Der Eigene u. der Fremde Gott" (IMAGO, Vol. III, 1923), p. 63, argues that the suppression of the mother-goddess in Judaism resulted in the directing of the folk libido toward Yahweh, thus establishing a homosexual relationship between the People of Israel and the God of Israel. That this was far from true will be demonstrated later in this study.

2. In his article on "Mary" (Hastings Encycl. Rel. and Eth.) James Cooper quotes Epiphanius as counting it "a heresy" that certain women in Thrace, Scythia and Arabia were in the habit of adoring the Virgin as a goddess and offering to her a certain kind of cake." (Cf. Jer. 44.19) While the Mary cult seems not to have gathered strength until the early centuries of the Middle Ages, this reference to Epiphanius indicates the natural identification of Mary with Ishtar when Christianity was popularized after Constantine's conversion.

teachings of Freud, as well as the recent theories of Jung, especially with reference to the latter's exposition of the idea of the folk psyche, or collective unconscious as manifested in myth, legend, and universal practice of unrelated peoples.

I

When the early Hebrews wandered or stormed into the land of Canaan, they found there, throughout its breadth and length, a cultus, one of whose central deities was a mother-goddess. That this should be so, was entirely in keeping with the character of Semitic religious forms, since, as Paton succinctly put it, "The one divinity that is found in all branches of the Semitic race is the mother goddess. . . ."³ It did not take the Hebrews long to become devotees of the goddess of sexual love, human fertility and agricultural productivity. Their own Yahweh cult still highly undeveloped, they syncretised what there was of it with the Baal worship of Canaan,⁴ and, for the rest, followed their neighbors in the worship of Ashtoreth and Asherah at the high-places and sacred locales.

With the Ashtoreth we are not so much concerned; it is clear that she is the Astarte of the Greeks, Ishtar of Babylonia and Assyria, the Moabite Astar, the Syrian Ashtart⁵ — which is to say, she is the mother-goddess herself.

It is in the Asherah, however, that we find greater interest, for the Asherah symbol is the clue to the validity of the change that was to take place with the promulgation of the Deuteronomic Code. As we shall see, that promulgation did not take place until well over a century after the first literary prophets sought to effect absolute allegiance to Yahweh, and it is reasonable to suppose that the desired effect of Deuteronomy was not finally brought about for another half-century after its appearance.⁶ It would presumably have been longer were it not for the psychological support of the Exile of 586 BCE.

What, then, was the Asherah? Whatham, agreeing with Kennedy, who discusses the Asherah in Hasting's One-Volume Diction-

3. The Cult of the Mother-Goddess: Lewis B. Paton; BIBLICAL WORLD, July 1910, p. 24.

4. For a quick summary of this syncretism, v. Cohon's "Palestine in Jewish Theology" (Hebrew Union College Jubilee Volume, 1925,) p. 174—5

5. Paton, *op. cit.*, *ibid.*

6. Generally dated at 621 BCE.

ary of the Bible, believed that "there was a goddess Asherah, a mother-goddess equivalent to the Phoenician or Syrian Astarte."⁷ From the evidence adduced by Whatham, the Asherah appears to have been not so much a mother-goddess, as her symbol.⁸ As to the nature of the symbolism and its significance, more will be said later; suffice it here to point out that the Asherah seems to have been a wooden post, which, together with the Ashtoreth, Mazzeboth and other objects, comprised the *sacra* of the Canaan-*itish* worship sites.

Such was the cultus to which Israel was attached with such eager strength. Time and again, the growing prophetic school tried to tear the people away from their devotion to the rites of the sacred places, but their heroic efforts were to bear meager fruit until the great reform of Josiah, under the aegis of the newly-found Book of Deuteronomy. It was not that the promulgation of Deuteronomy brought about a lasting result; as a matter of fact, subsequent Kings restored the ancient idolatry. But with Deuteronomy, at last "an official written document now existed, accessible to all, regulating the life of the community, and determining the public standard of belief and practice."⁹

Now, all this is familiar ground to the student of Old Testament history. Were this all that was involved in the establishment of the Deuteronomic Code, there would be no reason for undertaking this analysis of its meaning. But it is the writer's conviction that with the triumph of Deuteronomy, there came another triumph — subtly stated but vastly important for the future history of the Jews. It was a victory inestimably greater than has hitherto been recognized and in its statement we shall see why Reik was wrong in hypothesizing the inverted character of the Israel-Yahweh relationship. For the aforementioned victory was the sublimation of sexual interest in the mother-goddess and her sacred locale, by diffusing it over the whole land of Israel. Not toward Yahweh was the folk libido directed, but toward the whole land of Israel.

7. The sign of the Mother-Goddess: Arthur E. Whatham; AMER. JL. REL. PSYCH. & ED. VOL. 4, p. 263.

8. Jacob Hoschander, in "Priests and Prophets in Israel" (p. 34), also states his belief that the Asherah was the symbol of Astarte, but he carries this thought no further, and leaves no suggestion nor hint as to his meaning.

9. I. C. C. To Deut. (S. R. Driver), p. lviv

Under the impetus of the prophetic movement, and psychologically aided by the loss of first the Northern Kingdom and then the Southern, there occurred a phenomenon in Jewish history, which we can appropriately term: "*The apotheosis of the land of Israel.*"

As we shall see in Part II of this study, land and topography can have a special meaning to the human psyche. In the case of the early Hebrews, the mother-displacement — to use the very apt psychoanalytic terminology — was embodied in the worship of Ash-toreth and Asherah. We may not unreasonably assume that this worship was a projection of the status and significance of the mother in the early Semitic matriarchate.¹⁰ The mother-goddess is the focalization of two factors: sexual interest in the processes of procreation, and concern for the perennial productivity of the land.

The primitive preoccupation with these two elements rooted deep into the folk psyche;¹¹ it would have been psychologically unfeasible, if not impossible, to destroy the symbols of mother-displacement without substituting in their place some other symbol or representation, even though it were one considerably weaker in sexual tone, sublimated as it were into love for the mother-land.

II.

By some extraordinary gift of insight, the prophetic leaders sensed that problem and met it. They met it in a way that was truly remarkable, for confronted by the phenomenon of sacred locales given over to the worship of sexual *sacra*, they ultimately persuaded a whole people to direct their libido not toward the limited locale, but toward the all-embracing Land itself. Not the holy site, but the Holy Land; the Temenos grew far beyond its original bounds. Thereafter, it was no longer to be Israelite and sacred areas, but

10. "In such a society, the chief deity of the clan could not by any possibility be conceived as masculine." (Paton, *op. cit.* p. 23)

11. Admittedly not original to Jung (v. *Psychology and Religion*, p. 63-4), he makes extensive use of the concept of the 'collective unconscious.' It is an idea that seems necessarily credible in order to explain the many universal phenomena of religious or ritual practice, such as the threshold customs which are discussed below. While the writer cannot accept the general contents with which Jung fills the vessel of 'collective unconscious,' he is of the opinion that the concept meets the demands of phenomena to be analyzed in the following paragraphs. It is interesting to note that Freud also seems to have lent himself to the idea of the folk psyche, in "Moses and Monotheism," wherein he ascribes to the Israelites as a Folk a latency period comparable to that observed in certain neuroses. (v. p. 103 ff.)

the People of Israel and the Land of Israel. One can scarcely over-emphasize the astonishing significance of this piece of spiritual alchemy, the essential truth of which is born out by the subsequent history of Israel, with its trinity of God-Israel-Land of Israel . . . a trinity firmly sealed and not to be disturbed until our own day.¹²

Throughout the Book of Deuteronomy, there is pursued the theme that Israel shall achieve greatness only when, in complete submission to the demands of Yahweh, it takes possession of the Land—a possession which seals the covenant of special relationship to Him.¹³ It is no ordinary territory of which Deuteronomy speaks; there is a spell of beauty and sanctity cast upon it. ". . . The eyes of the Lord thy God are always upon it, from the beginning of the year even unto the end of the year."¹⁴ Here is a veritable Eden, overflowing with the good things of life;¹⁵ in the rich imagery of the Old Testament, it is a land "flowing with milk and honey." Here is a land, where, after the long strenuous flight from Egypt, the sweet fruits of allegiance to Yahweh are to be plucked, indeed, they need not even be plucked, for they fall from the trees into the lap of the Hebrew.¹⁶

Can we doubt that the land of Caanan, in the process of becoming the historic land of Israel, has been invested with the properties and attributes characteristically feminine? The land of Israel has, in Deuteronomy, been equated with the fruitful mother, the perennially replenished and replenishing matrix of life, the *dea nutritrix*, a mother whose arms are eager to welcome the child, who, after painfully wrestling with life, from Joseph's death to Jordan's bourn, turns longingly toward the ancient homestead: the promised

12. It is worth noting here, that the modern Zionist movement—the intensification of attachment to the Land — coincided, in its origin, with the weakening of authority of the traditional God, brought about by the enlightenment of the Nineteenth Century. Until that time the Jew remained satisfied with his messianic phantasies, his liturgically expressed hope of *Heimkehr* to Palestine, his little handful of holy Palestinian soil to sanctify the Galuth earth in which he must performe lie down in death. With the dimming of the concept of God, the Almighty Father, there came the resurgence of the Mother cult: Zionism. If our surmise about contemporary Zionism is correct, then we might thus explain the great number of 'secularists' in its ranks: that is, men who have rejected the formulae of creed and ritual by which God is worshipped, in favor of the freer approach to the new worship of 'HaAretz.'

13. Deut. 1:8 ff; 7:12-15; 26:16-19

14. Deut. 11:12

15. Deut. 6:10-11; 8:7-10; 11:9-15; 27:3

16. Deut. 6:10-12; 26:6-9 V. also Reik, *op. cit.* p. 59

land. But the folk psyche, seeking the comfortable joys of regression to the protective strength of the mother-land, demands a price of itself. Through Yahweh fealty is demanded, to the exclusion of 'strange gods.' This fealty, if given, must inevitably shift the emphasis of the devotee's worship from the mother-goddess toward the masculine Father. Whether the rise of the cult of the masculine God (now syncretized with the Baalim) was a symptom of the final decay¹⁷ of the matriarchal system and the token of the patriarchy's ascendancy, the writer can do no better than guess at the present moment. What is important is that, to the authors of Deuteronomy, possession of the feminine symbol—mother earth—was found acceptable only upon the fulfilment of two conditions: (1) Absolute submission to the uncompromising Yahweh, through renunciation of all longing for the incestually desired mother-goddess; (2) The quasi-defeminization of the nonetheless necessary mother-goddess, by her diffusion into a far less sexualized mother-surrogate: the Land of Israel.¹⁸

Land . . . earth . . . soil . . . have always occupied a highly important place in the folk mind. Erich Fromm sees in the very account of creation an attempt to depict, through the medium of folk story, the unconsciously held concept of the "maechtige unversiegbare Vater" having a sort of procreative relationship with Mother Earth.¹⁹ In the same study, Fromm, after pointing out the etymological kinship of 'matter' and 'mater,' expresses the belief that the Sabbath rest enjoined by Biblical law, means the renunciation of the Mother (Earth) by refraining from disturbing primal matter on that day.²⁰ This theory is of course predicated upon the validity of the Freudian Oedipus formula which, succinctly stated, holds that the primal self of all fathers—patterned after the *Urvater* of the primitive horde—is jealous of the son's claims to the mother's love, and seeks to destroy him or render him innocuous.

17. 'Final decay' should be considered as a somewhat relative phrase, for, as Aptowitzer has indicated (*Spuren des Matriarchats im Juedischen Schriftum: HUC Annual*, Vols. IV and V) there is considerable evidence of a residue of matriarchate-system thinking in Judaic laws and exegetical ruminations of a much later day.

18. It should be remembered that Eretz, Adamah and Sadeh (*Sadeh* is masculine; cf. Gen. 23:17; Lev. 27:21; Jer. 32:43; Ruth 2:8, 22; 1Chron. 16:32) are feminine nouns.

19. Der Sabbath: Erich Fromm; *IMAGO XIII*, p. 226.

20. *Ibid.* p. 228.

As civilization advances, this is done more and more symbolically, through phantasy, or in disguised form.

It is worth noting, in this conception, that it was the sacrifice of Cain, which was found unacceptable by God. Cain, as the tiller of the soil, was a man who worked and seeded the mother earth. It is also interesting to note that though Eve called him Cain "because I have acquired (Qanisi) a man,"²¹ the lexicographers disagree with her etymology, and are inclined to see the root of 'Qayin' as 'Qun' rather than 'Qanah.' The interest lies in the fact that Qun means to beat or pound, as in forging: i.e. to work the virgin stuff of earth. Moreover 'Qiyn,' a noun derivative of Qun, is translated as 'spear,'²² which as a murderous weapon of assault is frequently identified with the phallus in neurotic fantasies.²³

There is perhaps something of the same meaning in Exodus 20:24-25 where it is said: "An altar of earth thou shalt make unto me . . . And if thou make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stones, for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it." Johanan ben Zakai's explanation²⁴ of the prohibition against the use of a tool is quite interesting when we consider that, psychoanalytically viewed, the altar actually was an instrumentality for the reconciliation between the Father and his children, but his explanation was nonetheless more homiletical than helpful. An altar of earth could be scooped out without materially "working" the land or any part of it. The use of a cutting instrument for the construction of a stone altar involved a type of activity which had deeper implications. That the hewing tool held the same significance in the unconscious folk mind as Cain's ploughshare is to be seen in the choice of the word for tool; namely, 'Hereb,' whose primary meaning is sword. As we have seen from our consideration of Cain's name and implied crime, the weapon of assault may here, as in neurotic phantasy, be identified with the phallus. Thus, the use of a cutting tool (phallus—i.e. sword-cutter) in making an altar of stone would amount to detraction from the

21. Gen. 4:1

22. V. II Sam. 21:16

23. "Introduction to Psychoanalysis;" Sigmund Freud, p. 127, and "Facts and Theories of Psychoanalysis;" Ives Hendrick, p. 202.

24. "The stones of the altar . . . serve to establish peace between Israel and their Father in Heaven. . ." Mekilta, Yithro, ch. 11

greater glory of the Father, the mighty and all-possessing Yahweh, by proving the devotee's easy access to the earth-material: mother earth. Thus the altar is 'polluted.'²⁵

That such currents of unconscious understanding moved in the folk psyche as revealed in legend and lore, is further demonstrated by Divine statements in which the Land is promised to the early Hebrews.²⁶ Thus, when God appeared to Abraham, according to Gen. 12:7, Abram—as the text still knew him—"builded . . . an altar unto the Lord." That is, the promise of the mother-land was accompanied by Abraham's demonstration of his continued fealty to the Lord God, cosmic projection of the masculine. The primitive altar was nothing more than a suitable stone, presumably a phallic symbol.²⁷ The erection of such a stone amounted to an affirmation of recognition of the masculinity of Yahweh.

In this connection, too, we also note the association of a theophany with the erection of an altar in Genesis 26:23 and 35:13. Most interesting, however, is the account in Gen. 17:5-12, wherein God, after promising a glorious future for Abraham and his descendants — a future climaxed by the promise of the land of

25. The same principle was seemingly recognized in pre-Hebraic Gezer where Macalister discovered a number of unhewn stone pillars erected at what appeared to be a 'High-Place.' (Excavation of Gezer: Vol. II, p. 385)

26. The following references from Genesis are either J or E, and, as such, "are pervaded by ideas and convictions which they share in common with the writing prophets: such as . . . perhaps a conscious opposition to certain emblems of the popular cultus (Asherahs . . . etc.)" Skinner (I. C. C. to Gen.) from whom this quotation is taken (*ibid* p. li) posits the prophetic influence in both J and E, but denies that it was necessarily 8th Century prophetic influence: it could have stemmed as well from the prophetic movement of the 9th Cent. Be that as it may, the prophetic coloration of both J and E found in the Theophany-Promised Land—Altar-erection references seems to tie them into the general intention of Deuteronomy as we defined it: "The apotheosis of the Land of Israel."

27. In the story of the altar and the heap which Jacob and Laban erected as witnesses to their pact (Gen. 31: 44-53), it may be that we have dual sexual symbols: the stone having phallic meaning, the heap feminine. That both were altars seems reasonably clear—all the more so since the pact was sealed by a sort of *agape* in which the bread appears to have taken its ancient role as symbol of meat sacrifice (cf. bread and salt as threshold offerings, or wafer as *corpus Cristi*). There is the not unattractive possibility that the heap was the Sumerian zigurrat in miniature, a third generation reminder of Abraham's original homeland. It would have been natural enough for Laban to erect it without direction from Jacob — as natural as was his Chaldean designation for it: "Yegar Sahadutha." But the fact that Jacob suggested the erection of the "Gal-Ed" as he called it in the Hebrew tongue, has some interest. It may be that in erecting both stone and heap, he honored both Canaanitish and Chaldean custom, and thus gave unconscious tribute to the two streams of influence in Patriarchal history. (v. Abraham: Sir Leonard Woolley, for fuller statement of the theory of Mesopotamian origins).

Canaan — indicates that the seal of the covenant is to be the circumcision of the males. Reik,²⁸ approaching the problem from the point of view of psychoanalysis, believes that the rite of circumcision was in its first form castration. The acceptance of this theory gives us another statement, through the medium of the folk story, of the omnipotence of the Almighty Father who proves his domination by exercising the power of life and death over the male child. Castration or circumcision, as tokens of feminization, demonstrate the Elder's power to mutilate the sign of the young man's virility,²⁹ and are presumably related to a rite of human sacrifice which preceded both of them, and for which they became substitutional symbols.

In the foregoing paragraphs, the writer has tried to show that the authors of J and E, impelled by some subtle understanding — which we here called the folk psyche — gave to the Promised Land a sexual significance and thus helped to prepare it for its ultimate destiny. We are now ready further to explore this subject by examining phenomena related to the crossing over into the land of Canaan, one day to be known as the Land of Israel.

III

William A. Heidel, in his study of the triduan basis of the Hebrew system of calendation, states that: "These ritual schemes were the skeleton forms of the Hebrew pilgrimage, or *hag*, which consisted of a departure succeeded by a return after an interval which may be fitly called a *période de marge*. This is the time form; but the same rites may be viewed as concerned with passing over a deadline or neutral march separating not periods of time, but topographical units."³⁰ "The frame of the narrative . . . is furnished by the departure from Egypt, made on the occasion of the *hag* due to Yahweh in the wilderness, and the 'return' of Israel to Canaan, which is achieved by passing over the Jordan. The going-forth and the return are of the essence of the *hag*; but the return was not to Egypt, as Pharaoh obviously expected, but to Canaan, whence the patriarchs had come."³¹

The foregoing quotations from Heidel are rendered more clear if

28. Das Kainzeichen, *IMAGO* V. p. 41

29. Ja-akobs Kampf *ibid.* p. 339

30. The day of Yahweh: William A. Heidel, p. 79

31. *Ibid.* p. 88

we examine the ritual scheme outlined by Arnold Van Gennep in his *Les Rites de Passage*. There he describes a tripartite ritual form common to the many primitive peoples who were the objects of his study: 1. *A rite de séparation*; 2. the *période de marge*; 3. the final *rite d'agrégation*. The first sets the individual apart from the group to which he formerly belonged; the second sets a boundary — delimits a sort of no-man's land, a dividing march between contiguous groups or territories; the last is designed to effect a formal admission or reception into the 'new' group, with the initiate often regarded as newborn.

The topographical tag suggests a momentous passing-over in which the crossing of the threshold into the new land has played a role of tremendous significance in the eyes of the people of Israel. That the story of the Exodus and the crossing into the new land is no mere folk-story, but is actively related to the tripartite ritual scheme outlined by Van Gennep and supported by Heidel, we can note in the parallel data found in their respective works.³² What is of particular importance for the purpose of these notes is to comprehend that the crossing into the Promised Land must have held a symbolic meaning for the contemporary Israelites and their later historians. In the absoluteness of Yahweh's demand for unqualified loyalty before the Hebrews can reap the delights of the land which is to be given them, we find a noteworthy parallel with the primitive rites concerning which Van Gennep observes: "L'intention de tous les actes de cette cérémonie est d'entraîner un changement momentané dans la vie du novice; le passé doit être séparé de lui par une entervalle qu'il ne pourra jamais repasser."³³

The ceremonies observed in conjunction with the passing over were indubitably related to the universal respect paid to the threshold.³⁴

In his consideration of the Passover as *rite de passage*, and in its character as a New Year Festival, Heidel adduces supporting

32. Cf. Passover *per se*, and Van Gennep, p. 56, for rite of circumcision cf. Josh. 5:2 ff. Ex. 12:44 with Van G. p. 102. For meaning of crossing of boundary lines (Egypt, Red Sea, Jordan), v. Van G. Ch. II: on Passover as a New Year festival, v. Van G. p. 254 ff.

33. Van Gennep, *op. cit.*, p. 107

34. For Biblical reference, note: Ex. 29:11; 40:6, 29; Levit. 1:3, 5; 3:2;

evidence from various sources³⁵ to prove that the opening of doors (as 'for Elijah' in our day) was an integral part of Passover ceremonies. The reason for this custom, he believes, is to expedite the passage of the people. But can it not be that the opening of doors at the Passover is much more nearly akin to the belief that the dead rise at the New Year?³⁶ However, it probably comes to the same meaning: namely, the emergence of the devotees from their chamber of preparation into their new status. Thus is re-enacted the ancient resurrection rite of the Springtime. It makes little difference whether it be Osiris, Attis, Adonis, the Hebrews concluding their hag, or Jesus' ascent from the Tomb.

These are all threshold ceremonies, whether the threshold exist in time or in space, and we are therefore prepared to see in the account of the crossing of the People of Israel over the Jordan and into the land of Canaan, a folk statement of ancient patterns of belief and signification, involving ideas of rebirth and renewed life.

Aside from the caution and outright fear with which treading on thresholds, lines of demarkation and even seams of carpets³⁷ was regarded, Trumbull adduces sufficient evidence to prove that the most essential factor in the primitive threshold rite was the proffering of blood. Surveying the data which he presents, Trumbull comes to the conclusion that the blood sacrifice at the threshold—the "family or household altar"—was symbolic of the first physical blood covenant. In his words: "When first a twain were made in a covenant of blood, the threshold altar was hallowed as a place where the Author of life met and blessed the loving union."³⁸

From these words, it would appear that Trumbull refers to the piercing of the hymen. In the writer's opinion, there is a good reason for believing that the blood symbolized in the threshold covenant was not the hymenal blood. Trumbull is correct, however, in relating the threshold to the vulva, which is, for the human race, the physical doorway to life.

4:4, 7; 12:6; 14:11; 17:4-9; Num. 6:10, 13. In addition note: Ex. 12:7; 21:6; Deut. 6:9; 11:20; Isa. 57:8; Zeph. 1:9; Ps. 121:8

35. *Op. cit.*, p. 96 n. 3; p. 298, n. 4; p. 391, n. 2.

36. V. Matt. 27:52-3. Also Golden Bough (1 Vol. Edit): G. Frazer, p. 324 ff.

37. The Threshold Covenant: H. Clay Trumbull, p. 13

38. *Ibid.*, p. 195

It is a commonplace of psychoanalysis, that "room" is a constantly recurring symbol of the womb—a fact which substantiates the equation of vulva with threshold. Thus we note the legend that Abraham, having been refused hospitality by the Amalekite wife of Ishmael, left a message suggesting that Ishmael change his threshold.⁴⁰ We need, too, only to recall that the Greek letter 'delta,' triangular in form, is west-Mediterranean kin to the Hebrew 'Daleth,' the letter D, itself related to 'Deleth' (Door). The key to this relationship is the triangle probable pictographic origin of both letters, and a frequent symbol of the female pudendum.⁴¹ Philologically closer to our own time, we note that the word customarily used to designate the doorposts astride the threshold is "jamb," whose etymological source is, as far as the lexicographers can trace, the late latin 'gamba,' leg.⁴²

IV

It was mentioned in the opening paragraphs of this study, that ". . . . the Asherah symbol is the clue to the validity of the change that was to take place with the promulgation of the Deuteronomic Code." The substitution of the land of Israel for the sacred grove and High Place could be effectively accomplished only if there were an adequate symbol which could act as the common denominator for both the Asherah or mother-goddess worship and the apotheosized Land in general. We have attempted to show how the crossing into the Land of Canaan became the dramatic climax of the early history of Israel. That crossing had certain deeply rooted psychological implications: passing over a threshold being

39. Introduction to Psychoanalysis: Sigmund Freud, p. 128.

40. Pirke deRab Eliezer, ch. 30. (For other such references in Jewish Literature v. Levy, *Sexual Symbolism in Bible and Talmud*.)

41. This symbol is discussed in some detail by Whatham in "The sign of the Mother-Goddess." His reference to the deltoid Babylonian cuneiform for "woman" is particularly interesting. v. also *Palaestinensche Kleinkunst*: A. Reifenberg, figs. 123 and 129.

42. In Isa. 12:8; 21:3 and I Sam. 4:19, forms of the word 'Izir' (doorsocket) are used to describe labor pains. Ordinarily translated 'hinge,' Tzir is more probably the door socket familiar to the archaeologist, and, as such, the more clearly related to the feminine genitalia. The very word for female: 'NeKeibah' is derived from the root *Nakab* which means 'to hollow out'—an obvious reference to the internal structure of the female genitalia.

In this connection note also the phrase 'Pothoth Le Dalthoth' (I K. 7:50)— the 'Poths' of the Doors: that is, the space between the doors (door posts?) The translation of Poth is given as 'space between,' especially the space between the legs. We have here a very close correspondence between the Hebrew Deleth and the Romanic Jamb

the symbolic re-enactment of the passing over the threshold of human life.

The sign of the mother-goddess, as Whatham conclusively proves, was the triangle symbolic of the female pudendum, and by virtue of that symbolism, an abridged statement of all that related to the procreation and fertility. Whatham demonstrates that the single post of the Asherah was only a remnant of an earlier pair of posts, possibly surmounted by a lintel of some sort—presumably triangular in shape. Thus, as the writer previously suggested, the Asherah was not so much the mother-goddess as her symbol: the gateway.⁴³ In time, the pair of posts became one post surmounted and decorated by symbols which made the meaning of the post perfectly clear.⁴⁴

That the same sacrifice which was made in conjunction with the passing over⁴⁵ could have been made at the Asherah gateway is indicated in Is. 57:6 where he describes how the idolatrous Israelites "slay the children in the valleys, under the clefts of the rocks." The sacrifice of the children at the site of an obviously female symbol is clear enough; there remains the incidental question whether this child sacrifice in the wild valleys indicates that by the time of Deuter-Isaiah the orgiastic idolatry had been forced into secret practice. If so, it would mean that sacrifice at the clefts of rocks took place in lieu of a more familiar and suitable site: e.g. the Asherah gateway.

There remains, finally, the analysis of the meaning of sacrifice at the threshold. We have established that threshold is a symbol for the vulva; now we wish to explain why a sacrifice took place there. The sacrifice of children at the threshold or foundation of the home was a common practice in the Canaan which the Hebrews entered.⁴⁶ There is also the important evidence of sacrifice at the door of the Tent of Meeting,⁴⁷ concerning which it was

43. "Their (gateways found in Tripoli, and possibly by Phoenician colonists before Roman times) ritual use was, he (Trumbull) thinks, for the regeneration of victims passed between their jambs." Whatham, *op. cit.* p. 258

44. v. Whatham *op. cit.* op. p. 368, figs. 22, 23, 46a, 46b, 54.

45. The circumcision rites observed as part of the Passover ritual (v. *supra* n. 31) should be considered as a sacrificial act, as much as was the slaughtering of the paschal lamb:

46. v. Josh. 6:26 and I K. 16:34; II K. 3:27. Also Bible Side-Lights: R. A. S. Macalister.

47. v. *supra*, n. 33.

insisted that to sacrifice elsewhere was to be guilty of shedding blood: "Blood shall be imputed to that man; he hath shed blood; and that man shall be cut off from among his people."⁴⁸ What difference is there between sacrifice at the threshold and sacrifice elsewhere? What is it that makes one holy and the other profane? The reason is made clear in the following paragraph.

If all crossings, whether of boundaries or thresholds in time and space are symbolic of birth — i. e. crossing the threshold of physical life —, then all blood covenants and sacrifices at boundaries and thresholds, even though it be the blood of animals rather than human blood, relate not to the hymenal blood, as Trumbull held, but to the primitive sacrifice of the first born son. Lost though it be in the remote reaches of human history, there is surely some kinship between the levitical praxis with its insistence upon sacrifice — of male animals for the most part — at the threshold, and circumcision-mutilation as a threshold rite. Just as the levitical sacrifice has meaning only if performed at the door of the *Ohel Moed*, so circumcision seems to have its rationale as well. The relationship of circumcision to sacrifice is vividly demonstrated in Ex. 4:24-26, where Moses was himself saved from death at the hand of God by his circumcision at the hand of Zipporah. Israel, declared God, was His first-born. Was Moses a symbol for Israel? As Moses was saved by his circumcision, so was Israel saved when the Egyptian firstborn were slain, by exhibiting a bloody token of sacrifice.

From this it would seem to be that the bond between the sacrificial cultus and the rite of circumcision lay in the fact that both were essentially acts of reconciliation with, and propitiation of, the God of Israel. One was accomplished at one threshold; the other at a different one. We are not here concerned with the probable meaning of the levitical praxis; as for sacrifice of the firstborn — actually or in token — at very threshold of life, at the symbolic gateway, or at the doorway of the new year, it does not seem clear, until we admit the possibility of the validity of Freudian thesis. All threshold rites appear to owe their origin to this primeval Oedipus scheme.

48. Lev. 17:4

Summary

The apotheosis of the Land of Israel, which served to sublimate the libido of the Israelites, formerly directed toward the mother-goddess cultus, was accomplished by reason of certain ritual patterns and unconsciously held significations deeply rooted in the folk psyche. These included the identification of threshold with the vulva. This identification gave meaning to all crossings of bourns, limits, boundaries, whether in time or in space, and invested such passings-over with such significance as gives rise to ritual. That such ritual included circumcision or actual sacrifice was conceivably due to the retention in the folk psyche of an ancient memory: That of the Urvater's slaying or feminization (by mutilation) of the hostile son, because of his incestuous desire to possess his mother.

Land itself having feminine properties and attributes in the human mind, libido could be invested in it as a love-object. In early Hebrew history, the transference of the folk libido from its mother-goddess (mother-surrogate) attachment to the new love-object, the Land of Israel, was accomplished by the teachings of successive schools of Prophets whose final victory was achieved through the promulgation and ultimate complete acceptance of the Book of Deuteronomy. In Deuteronomy, we find the seeds of that ultimate victory, in its utilization of all the unconsciously held beliefs bearing on Land, mother, and punishing but reconcilable Father.

PSYCHOANALYSIS AS A THERAPY OF SOCIETY

By PAUL FEDERN (New York)

In a speech that has never been published, Freud developed his program for the investigation of character and personality. He said that having brought analytic research of mental diseases to some sort of conclusion, he would now like to start a search for the Unconscious in Character Formation, if there were a span of 50 years before him like an ocean of time. His later works have indeed dealt with characterology and with the relations between the individual and society in regard to unconscious processes and unconscious adjustment, beginning with his studies on "Libidinous Types" up to his book on Moses.

Many psychoanalytical writers follow this line of thought. When this program is fulfilled, psychoanalysis will cease to belong mainly to psychopathology; it will become an essential part of "anthropology." Several "anthropologies" that have been published in Germany up till now were written from a rather subjective standpoint and were, unconsciously, dictated by the need to express the author's own neurosis. Only individuals who have ceased to be neurotic themselves are able to fulfill the Socratic-Freudian demand to "know thyself" which includes knowing human nature in general.

Self-recognition is the basis of self-direction. Self-direction means the victory of the "logos" to which Freud has paid homage. For nations as well as for individuals it is imperative to overcome primitive and neurotic stages. The highest aim is to enable us to choose our goal ourselves. Generally speaking, the purpose for which all psychoanalytic educational influence must unite is to accomplish better self-direction. Self-direction naturally depends on the fitness of the captain and the quality of the rudder and the ship. Psychoanalysis is expected to build up this fitness. The ego (captain) must be able to use full will power (the rudder) and all his perfected mental and physical faculties (the ship).

Self-knowledge, self-steering and self-government — individually and nationally — are contrary to most of the totalitarian and imperialistic tenets of today, may the imperialistic totality be imposed by a leader or by a party. To hammer some dogmas

into the heads of the masses through the leaders' "thunderous call" is suggestion and hypnotism while progress through scientific information and democratic striving for better principles of social order correspond to psychoanalysis. Analysis makes understand and choose intentionally what was done or not done for unconscious reasons.

Propaganda as a method of suggestion may be welcomed since it may unite antagonistic parties and so form a unity based on the common belief. Such union together with its aims may be useful and even beneficial just as hypnosis is still valuable as a therapy in rare cases although hypnosis in general has been abandoned for many good reasons. The state of hypnosis is humiliating for the hypnotized person and rather degrading for the hypnotizer, as he has to resort to means which resemble sorcery and magic. And the results are far from permanent. To speak of hypnosis in this connection is more than a mere analogy. It is a proof since Freud has recognized that hypnosis is a "mass of two." Of course, strenuous efforts of the best minds have been needed and will be needed for centuries to come in order to raise the masses from the level of hypnosis to the level of rational decision and self-determination. This process of enlightenment was interrupted through political fascination and party-control. Both blind the individual's judgment and facilitate undifferentiating mass-psychology.

We often hear it said that our century marked the beginning of the decline of civilization, in spite of some cultural progress. Spengler's prophecy of the decline of the occident expresses this point of view. However, the supremacy of the Caucasian race is indeed crumbling throughout the world. Man today has lost contact and continuity with the ideology of the 19th century in which scientific penetration was the aim and hope. Science was expected to offer certainty and security by solving all political, economical and philosophical problems. I am surprised and delighted to see that in America this hope still prevails. In Europe science has failed to fulfill expectations. People were confused by the many divergent results which were produced and distributed among the masses by means of popular literature. The easiest of these to understand was negation of religious and traditional thought. Darwinism, the main theory of scientists 60 years ago, dropped or modified by today's science, had become in autocratic countries the generally accepted

idea. Survival of the fittest and the struggle for existence became trivial concepts which are used to justify the necessity for war, racial aggression and every kind of short-sighted materialism. Therefore it is evident how difficult it is to transmit the results of the work of one generation in a not distorted form to the next one. It is even more difficult to present science to contemporaries. Our particular science, psychoanalysis, acutely needs truthful and precise presentation.

It is our duty to work in this direction since we are convinced that psychoanalysis must do constructive as well as critical work. We want the constructive influence of psychoanalysis to benefit not so much the generations of later centuries as to advance our own and our children's lives. This task must be understood and voluntarily pursued. We are wrong to reproach the lack of response to scientists and laymen personally. Whoever takes part in really productive work must expect to be misunderstood. Every creative worker solves problems which took hold of him already while he was young, long before his companions became aware of them. Only when he has reached full maturity does he solve the problem. He is ahead of his time and ahead even of the next and perhaps later generations. He becomes the leader of millions yet to be born, to be born after his own death. The millions who are alive are not really lead by their great contemporaries, but by the genius of bygone generations. Even his colleagues and experts in his own field are unwilling to accept the new discoveries, do not understand what is really new. Besides, by preoccupation with the new, they would lose contact with their contemporaries. This produces tension which is hard to stand. Most people compromise and follow the herd whom they are expected to guide. Teaching prevents learning! This is a general though not the only form of resistance to analysis.

Resistance against the "new" is a natural consequence of the struggle for maintaining one's repressions. All knowledge is limited by repressed associations. Psychoanalysis is resisted more because the associations produced by analysis deal with the nucleus of the unconscious which has been repressed for thousands of years. Every new truth endangers illusions and rationalizations, some of the most cherished ones perhaps. Thomas Mann correctly recognized that the cultural goal of psychoanalysis was to uncover pseudo-perfection, that is, the sum of all illusions, and pseudo-harmony.

that is, the sum of all rationalizations, and to replace these by a perfection and harmony that are attained. If this can be accomplished, culture will be based on a genuine living unity which will be assured through complete consciousness.

The individual who does not any more carry his ontogenetic and phylogenetic past in his unconscious, but who faces it without fear, will be able to control it and be different from what he was before. Will he be better? Is it not a risk to attempt to light up the dark when the danger exists that mankind will perhaps prefer the easier regression to the burden of our culture and "its discontent"? May we regard psychoanalysis as an education of the people? May it not be better to be satisfied with the present, even though but apparent, harmonies and perfections? Do we have the right to take away the assistance and support afforded by repression and illusions without knowing whether the goal that we have set ourselves can be obtained? The answer to this question is difficult to give. But we believe that we do not have any choice any more. Psychoanalysis was not a wicked unveiling of the statue of Sais. However courageous and decisive the act, it was only a step on the road taken long ago toward the scientific control of nature of which we ourselves are a part. As we cannot assume that we shall ever give up the natural sciences and technical accomplishments, the science of the human psyche will also persist. And truth will not suddenly stop here, nor can it take a more comfortable road than ours. For as Freud expressed it, "there is only one truth because there is only one reality." So that even if one were inclined to limit further investigation, be it because of cowardice, domineering tyranny, devout awe and respect for the beauties and the consolations of childhood faiths which move us as adults, there is no sudden end. Once discovered, truth will proclaim itself in some way; there is an instinctive need for truth in every investigator and its own discomfort when in doubt makes mankind understand and approve this need for truth. We cannot go back any more.

Experience teaches that after a completed analysis the individual becomes more normal and capable. The neurotic symptoms disappear or become milder, anxiety has been removed, characterological faults have partly been corrected, partly can be better controlled. The approach to demands of the environment is different, motives can be weighed and his own sham reasons are recognized.

He is better able to sublimate and to give in to his instincts, he more easily finds a love object and is able to direct his love toward it. He loses illusions and renounces rationalizations.

He can do more, not only for himself, but for others as well, making life more pleasant for his environment. It is a decided gain for the community in general if less neurotic persons seek compensation and success in political and social life for neurotic motives. We do not mean that psychoanalysis makes an individual better or worse than he was before. A person whom analysis finds to be kind will remain kind, and a hard one hard. Analysis makes more efficient and more honest. The feeling of becoming united becomes a normal need when no neurosis and no pathological narcissism inhibits or exaggerates this need. If the roots of the libidinal attachments to the group becomes conscious, its infringements cease to be a sin. Hypocrisy and exaggerations disappear. The attachments themselves are not diminished, they keep their libidinal cathexis, they are consciously affirmed as the source of pleasure, power, contentment, and moral satisfaction. In the service of the group courage and valor increase if neurotic anxiety has been removed. Therefore we have no reason to fear that bringing unconscious conflicts to consciousness will make the individual less adapted to the life in the community.

Another justified objection is whether or not the aggressive instinct which through analysis has been made conscious and recognized as necessary, will not be satisfied more effectively than before. We have often observed this to be the case and consider this release of aggression an unavoidable and often unpleasant result of analysis. As it is always a question to what use aggression will be put, it is difficult to decide whether the liberation of aggression has more advantages than disadvantages. It brings more honesty into man's conduct and his approach to life. Neurotically inhibited aggression is partly, though unconsciously, directed against the own person, partly compensated and expressed externally, continually or temporarily, immediately or intensified later in life. The analyst takes into consideration not only the present symptoms of the neurosis but also its further course and the later results of such inhibitions and repressions. Neurotic kidness as a result of inhibited aggression is compensated for by exaggerated demands and sensitivity or may later lead to disorders under which the environment

which had formerly been treated with exaggerated consideration will suffer more than it benefited previously. An uncompromising writer who saw through the human soul remarked with bitter humor: To be the neighbor of a devout believer, the child of a world reformer and the servant of a liberal thinker are three difficult lots (Grillparzer). After all, there can be no harm if egotism and aggression go straight ahead; the others can and should defend themselves; it proves that we must renounce pseudo-perfection. Social forms and their corresponding control of aggression are requirements of the adaptation to reality and of good taste which are stronger after an analysis than before. Still, we understand the hesitation in regard to a method which frees aggression from inhibition, for in many people aggression extends beyond egotism and truthfulness.

My own experience has taught me that in a successful analysis it is possible to transform sadism and utilize it as conscious severity towards oneself and beyond that for the increase of will power in the struggle for existence, while in an analogous way masochism may be sublimated to greater tenacity and perseverance in this struggle. Sadism and masochism, however, are forms of aggression in its harmful combination with the sexual instinct. Sadism and masochism are the instinctual factors which cause the ignominious aspects of our culture and permit cruelty and knavery to persist. If psychoanalysis will continue to learn how to further the utilization of these instinctual factors for the benefit of man, this would be an additional reason to welcome its development as a service in the "humanism" as understood by Thomas Mann.

Before the National Socialists seized power, Freud was the second most read author in the libraries of Germany. Laymen especially felt liberated by the new knowledge; they saw their problems understood at last instead of being put aside with moral admonitions and reproaches. This knowledge must necessarily produce doubts in the reader in regard to all those explanations which take into consideration only conscious motives. This is especially true of all questions of education. Heinrich Meng has clearly stated that only those persons can be in agreement with many current educational procedures who approve man's conduct in today's society; the others look to the newly arisen psychoanalytic pedagogy and educational assistance as the means to effect social harmony and individual self-control, with less sacrifice of mental health and

capacity for happiness. Psychoanalytic pedagogy aspires to obtain even for childhood a greater measure of conscious self-knowledge and conscious approach to reality.

It is a question of "Weltanschauung" and ethics whether a method is justified in forming the personality of a human being, and especially that of a child, and particularly whether it should make his moral opinions accessible to conscious examination and motivation. For the second time we see psychoanalysis questioned from the "moral-religious" point of view. The first time this happened because it assumedly liberated too many instincts; this time, because it takes possession of man himself, takes him away from his native or acquired opinions and makes of him a rationalizing apostate of religious faith. These opponents can picture an analyzed person only as a skeptic and a cynic materialist.

Such reproaches were made at a time when "cradle snatching" (Kinderfang) became more and more of a political weapon in Europe. Psychoanalysis itself probably gave the impetus for this, because it was Freud who made known the importance of childhood impressions, childhood sexuality, and the child's images and love conditions which are later transferred and repeated over again. Thus instructed, some ruling parties in Europe today strive with powerful equipment and well developed methods to win the soul of the child, his ego-ideal and with this his super-ego with a definite philosophy and aim. We do not yet know how at the time of maturity this way of early development will be expressed in character and neurosis. We are under the impression that the influence of the father has diminished while the influence of collective society has increased; the Oedipus conflict is weakened and the ego-feeling of the individual less emphasized, while the group-ego-feeling becomes stronger. However in some countries political victors use their power to save having to court the next adult generation, a fact that may contribute to the consolidation of present conditions. This action would appear objectionable from the standpoint that every human being should be mature and capable of forming a judgment before making a decision in regard to his philosophy and his own social attitude.

Psychoanalysis fulfills this demand. It increases as far as possible for the individual the field of his conscious decision as to which goal he considers the right one. Only when reflection precedes this

decision, can the latter be made in accordance with reality and free from evaluation that may have been displaced from unconscious wishes to conscious goals. Just as the individual analysis frees the individual from neurosis and superstition, illusions and rationalizations, so psychoanalytic science as theory should do the same for the community in general, for the units of the state, the people, and the family, for groups of all kind and their institutions. This does not lessen the authority of and within these units, but makes the unconscious attachments on which these units rest and on which their authority is founded conscious and consciously justified. Their right is thus psychologically motivated. However, much that is habitually demanded or autocratically determined must succumb before psychoanalysis. This is the unavoidable result of new knowledge and especially of a newly discovered source of knowledge. To want to prevent this would mean to enthrall mankind. This much fared criticism and the — in the literal sense of analysis — dissolving effect is counterbalanced by its far greater and constructive influence.

The reproach that Freud has undermined religion and thus the foundation of morality in his uncompromisingly consistent work, *The Future of an Illusion*, is not justified. Each investigator and scientist must report his findings in accordance with the truth of the facts. Suppressing truths that may supposedly endanger mankind may make these harmless for the moment, but by devious ways all sorts of conclusions will be drawn. Opponents as well as imitators will repeat them in diluted and trite form. That which could not be told directly will find expression in allied fields of science in new compromises with error, superstition and misunderstanding. It is far better to state freely the consequences of the knowledge found. This does not mean that this knowledge will win. It also appeals to the defenders of previously held opinions to support these with new evidence. At the sight of an abyss a sensitive person may be overcome with vertigo but he can be saved from going down while he would unavoidably fall into the depth if it were covered up. When Freud demands that ethics be founded on another authority than that of a God as confessionally understood, he only voices an opinion which has been developing for centuries and which just because it was formed without insight into

the unconscious, often caused barbaric forms of hate and aggression toward religion.

Cultural groups, from the family to the nation and the state are based on strong libidinal cathectic; structure analysis does not destroy but reinforce them, except arbitrarily forced units or where through abnormal conditions their structures have disintegrated and the libido has been withdrawn. Psychoanalysis of individuals often results in the establishment or improvement of their relations with superior attachments. The recognition that all relations to higher authorities occur as a result of displacement of the libidinal attachment from the father-imago to the person in authority, and analogous the attachment from the siblings to later friends and fellow-beings, teaches us that the life of the child in the family must be a normal one if one wants to assure healthy civic feelings. Freud discovered the libidinal cathectic of the leader, or an idea, as the source of the unity of the masses. Even though the masses originally act and feel only on the basis of the pleasure principle and thus often wildly and impulsively; when organized into state, church, army, parties, or other organizations of all kinds, the pleasure principle is more and more replaced by the reality principle and instead of an inherent and inexplicable unity there takes place much reasonable reflection in regard to action and feeling. Still, the coherence must not be allowed to be lost. Each unit who has a sound psychic foundation owns these common object-cathexes in common to king, leader, fatherland, home, art, language, material interests. Objects in common and identifications in common help to extend the ego-boundaries of every individual for the community and the feeling of unity results. The ego-boundaries in common are especially enforced when identification with the leader in common occurs. In the various state organizations different types of establishing the libidinal attachment may be recognized. It may either be a hierarchy (over-and-under order) of identifications, or it may be principally the common tie to *one* leader. At one time a strong object libido for the common mother, the native soil, may be the basis, another time it may be the brother attachment which keeps "fatherless" societies together.

All national or state units that have had a long historical development are thus kept together. Each individual is attached to his people by the past and the future, by the same environmental

pictures, nursery tales, phantasies, legends and each meaningful word of the common language. According to the dynamic approach to psychic processes the national feeling appears fully justified and is in itself not any stronger than corresponds to the extent of the libidinal cathexis for everything that has been experienced in the community life, whereby the cathexis in the ego as well as in the object images is permanently kept. Arbitrarily forced exaggerations with regression to barbarism and blood myth result when the powerful dynamic cathexis of the people did not receive full recognition, either because there was the attempt to replace it by other, either political or religious, ties or because external enemies wanted to destroy the national unity. For the common unity rests not only on the common libidinal cathexis but also on the destructive instinct that goes in the same direction (hate, enmity, opposition). The appearance of an enemy is sufficient to reestablish the feeling of unity even in the case of weakened cohesion. The more highly cultured a people is, the more aggressive drive and libido are attached to the common art, language and customs, the less does it need a war-like attitude to feel as a strong nation.

There is no doubt that every member of a nation also feels as a "human being"; he embodies an extended ego-boundary which corresponds to the wholeness of man and mankind. In most individuals, however, this feeling is less strongly charged than those ego boundaries which correspond to the nation and the home. To charge them more strongly is our task in the service of humanity and peace. The fact that because of his belonging to several higher unities there exist in every individual several ego-expansions, leads to severe internal and external conflicts as soon as the demands of the higher units clash with one another or with the egotism of the individual. The ego-feeling and the will split. The super-ego can not make its demands unequivocally, the ego is confused because of doubts of conscience and insecurity feelings. We know the milder forms of such conditions in their pathological expression as neurotic shyness, the more severe forms lead to ego-conflict, dissociations, and may approach a psychosis. These disturbances occur in order to avoid the conscious conflict between the different ego expansions and the purely egotistical I.

Freud ascribed a "synthetic function" to the conscious in the dream; Nunberg, following him, to the ego. This means that all

content and striving in the conscious, respectively in the ego, are at the same time connected with one another. We are confused and suffer when the "synthetic function" does not lead to any unitary affect attitude and correspondingly to any firm will and action. The agony of such conflicts is often so unbearable that men flee into blind "fanaticism" concerning everything which represents one attachment and give up all other attachments. But such a violent unification does not solve the real conflict. The solution must be based on the understanding of the discrepancies. This psychoanalysis achieves by the difficult road of the recognition of the causes. It enables man to regain inner peace in spite of the many demands which the cultural attachments make on his ego. We appreciate the improvement in mental health in the United States by the complete freedom of faith and thought for the individual as well as the group. In the times of feudalism internal conflicts were removed externally through commanding that every subject adopt the faith of the sovereign. This solution was just as far from being a healthy one as the flight into fanaticism described above. This applies to the community as much as to the individual. The community is characterized in many instances by a "we" just as much as the individual by "I." This assertion does not mean that there is a collective conscious or a collective unconscious, a national soul in the sense as there is an individual soul. But there exist in groups as well as in the individual the conflicts between drives and their dominating power, between action and the object of the activity, between directing and expressing organs, between inner and outer struggles. And just as the common factors of the individual egos become a "we" in a group, so the common factors of the super-egos are effective in the groups as "super-us." The original masses developed into organized societies through distribution of libido cathexis in the division of labor, in the internal and external adjustment, in the differentiation of organs and forces which depend on one another and influence one another. Thus pleasure principle is replaced by reality principle — in the same way as in any developing individual organism. The extended ego-boundaries of the individuals do not unite to form a group soul, but they work together in a unitary way in regard to extent, content, drives and affect cathexis as if the group really had an ego-feeling with extended boundaries. We have mentioned here this well known analogy to

show that the cohesion and resistance of a group rest on libidinal forces just as much as do those of an individual. For this reason psychoanalysis as an enlightening science will know how to handle the structure of groups in the same way as the individual analysis treats the ego.

Freud has taught us to understand the meaning of mental disease. Later we learned to know of the peculiar weakness of the ego in these patients. The analytic work soon taught Freud to begin each treatment with a brief trial period in order to ascertain the suitability of the patient for this method, and especially to determine the possibility of an incipient psychosis. Since then the psychoanalytic method has been changed for the application to those patients who suffer from psychoses, so that we can now help these too, if they are at all curable. In the fields in which analysis was later applied, namely, children's analysis, educational assistance, treatment of delinquents, and psychotic patients, our successes were made possible only because of the analysis of the ego.

Formerly the ego was considered — static — as a sum of certain qualities and abilities. Our present — dynamic, energetic — approach regards the ego as a cathectic unity with continuous powers, which are being constantly and alternately used. The ego matures only gradually in the life struggle of the individual. Psychoanalysis can alter the ego by making the past rise again and by having the individual re-live the tasks and disturbances experienced during the formative period. It is as if in this new experience the soul which at the cross roads once made the wrong choice is first led back and then in the right direction. The Indian legend according to which a soul, who when coming before the judge of the dead (Yama), can not report enough good or bad, is sent back into the body to decide on heaven or hell, becomes reality here. That which appears a quality of the personality are habitual cathectic processes, occurring in necessary repetition, of which many are not unchangeable, and for which there is no absolute repetition compulsion. While in its beginnings analysis considered the healthy ego of the patient a prerequisite, it later learned to take the disturbances of the ego into consideration and today can often make it possible for the ego to recover through the analytical unrolling of the past. All this is the result of the dynamic approach to the psychic life by

means of which the creator of psychoanalysis has dared to question the very basis of our being.

It may appear as a new and bold attempt to trace the inter-relations of society to their dynamic causes and to make these causes conscious. Will society be influenced by psychoanalytic knowledge in the same way as an individual with a strong and healthy ego, or must it be exposed only to a very careful analysis? Can we assume that society will get well when the repressed material has been made conscious? Or will it — overwhelmed by the uncovered unconscious — sink more deeply into madness and barbarism? The coincidence of the present decline of our culture with the advent of psychoanalysis has caused many an opponent of the latter to hold it responsible for this deterioration. The castration complex, in whose existence nobody believed when it was first discovered, the sadistic components, the powerful drive for destruction, narcissism raised to monomania, all this is today not only well known psychoanalytically but it has become recognized by everybody in the political every-day life. These same manifestations, however, have occurred after every war during the subsequent critical period. The results of psychoanalysis are the sexual freedom as a result of liberation from guilt and especially early knowledge, particularly by women, of the meaning of sexuality and sexual satisfaction. It also would appear as if the great distribution of the psychological approach and examination had its origin in the pronouncements of the followers as well as the opponents of the psychoanalytic movement. As a further result we would like to claim the increasing respect of the subjective experience of the child as a distant effect of Freud's discovery.

These three phenomena show that psychoanalysis as a treatment of society has benefited it. The liberation of sexuality has always been the result of a long war and the consequent crisis in the life of the nation. But at the same time hysterical disorders increased. During our time hysteria has decreased. On the other hand, those mental disorders which are based on Ego conflicts are on the increase. Because of the recognition of the connection between sexual repression and hysteria, and the more reasonable attitude on the part of society towards sexuality which developed not only in liberal but in conservative circles as well, hysteria has decreased. If we could with the same assurance bring to the consciousness and

with this to the conscience of society the psychic causes and unconscious processes of other mental disturbances and psychoses, we might expect to have the same success also in these disorders. We are therefore of the opinion that every means which will further the people's understanding of psychoanalysis is a collective prophylaxis against mental disorder.

As mentioned above, psychoanalysis is only a part of the general continual process of enlightenment. We cannot judge to what degree every natural science in addition to other causes has revolutionary effect. The demand for a change of the social order is opposed by all those who want to preserve the status quo in spite of all changes. When no balance of forces is achieved a permanent internal and external state of war results. Psychoanalysis stands between the two forces, not taking part in the struggle but only in the solution of the problems. In uncovering the instinctive, this original source of all that is revolutionary, it provides the means to master it. With this procedure it follows and serves the natural development. For in nature every new task demands not only the change of individual organs and abilities, but the total organism which directs and nourishes these organs adapts itself to the specific change as a whole. Psychoanalysis, as a single influence, turns to the individual item, but at the same time its total effect must always affect the whole personality in the three fields of the human psyche, the id, the ego and the super-ego.

Thomas Mann speaks of a will to the future, in contrast to the will to the past, or to a holding on to that which exists. Each of these aims may lead to revolutionary uprisings if the representatives of one or the other goals are in power and are uncompromising. The word "revolution" describes the type of process, not its direction. If it is possible to convince the whole community or the majority of the justification of the other goal, a slow development takes place, with intermediary stages in the form of trials and compromises. In the individual the corresponding processes would be described as absorption of instinctual desires into the ego, which is accompanied by decrease of the instinctual power. This is the road to psychoanalysis. Its scientific influence would therefore further evolution and no revolution. Probably it is doing so already today where quite unrecognized it leads different parties to the common source of their differences and teaches

them much in regard to the origin of their discrepancies. If the unconscious factors of the contrasting opinions and demands were completely conscious, only the reality factor would remain effective. This would frequently prevent sanguinary decision where for unconscious reason it may seem unavoidable. The child in us exaggerates hostile phantasies into the unconditional death wish. Without special optimism we expect that there will develop from the dissemination of psychoanalytic insight an alleviation of all conflicts.

It is true that laymen and often scientists are oriented so much according to their own mental and experimental world, that they can absorb psychoanalytic knowledge only slowly. The theory of the unconscious is hard to understand, the unconscious content is embarrassing for the conscious perception. This explains why after the reading of psychoanalytic books so much is remembered wrongly and misunderstood in retrospect. We must not be surprised, therefore, if laymen and scientists easily forget what they have learned. It is only peculiar that they remember it so often later as an original idea. This corresponds to a daily analytic experience. Patients, who reject an explanation with strong resistance will later offer it as their own idea, without any resistance and will be proud of their insight. Equally it has happened that the very opponents of psychoanalysis will later offer it as their own theory, that is, will plagiarize it unconsciously. For instance, the theory of the transference is offered as something brand new under the term of "confidence therapy"; part of the libido theory is announced as the "I you relation" without that this mental theft may be characterized as conscious plagiarism. This factor of unconscious plagiarism contributes to make psychoanalysis available to the people. Experience teaches over and over again that only very few people are capable of really understanding something new at once. To do this it is necessary not only to make new mental connections, but mental ego-boundaries must be filled with new thought content. Only an extremely objective and truth seeking person is capable of accomplishing this. For the average reader it will be a relief if the new is accompanied by much that is familiar, and if he is served with a handy mixture which may be incorrect but which will contain the new idea. After reading such scientifically valueless writings the original

work will not seem so strange. Still, we do not intend to overlook the question of wrong in plagiarism because of its intermediary service.

As much as plagiarism may help in the dissemination of new findings just as much does it obstruct their further progress. Plagiarism lets loose curses as well as blessings, since it will not be possible to use the new as a starting point and carry on independent research till it is clearly recognized that one has learned something new. This distinguishes the student from the Epigonus. The student can become a master, the plagiarist never. He disguises what he has learned, believes it to be original, and always finds familiar things. Superfluous disputes arise. The imitator becomes famous rather than the creative mind. And yet, this too is a natural way of evolution, because important ego-boundaries cannot be suddenly changed. The better way is popular presentation which is based on the present knowledge of the reader, which stimulates him to study Freud's work and prepares him for this study. Good popular books contribute to the "psychoanalytic movement" whose justification we have been trying to outline here. The main currents of the movement are the investigations of Freud himself and his school. Psychoanalysis is spread among society not only by way of lectures, books and articles but by each single analysis.

Artists and writers who have really absorbed Freud's teachings do the greatest service to psychoanalysis, because they do not plagiarize it, but recreate it in a living way. Artists are closer to the unconscious, suffer more deeply from the externally unconscious conflicts than do the rest of us. It is therefore their privilege and their responsibility to be the first to take a stand in regard to newly discovered truths. Taught directly by Freud or influenced by artists many professional writers and journalists have taken possession more quickly of the psychoanalytic insight than could be expected.

Yet in spite of all this, the application of psychoanalysis is still being attacked. But those who fight it at the same time absorb it and spread it. These opponents may be compared to the figure of the devil in the Slavic legend, who was furious when he found out that the starving peasant had received from the angel some seeds as a gift. Enraged, he stamped them into the ground and thus helped bring about the richest of harvests.

BEAUTY, LIFE AND DEATH

by

Hanns Sachs (Boston)

I. INTRODUCTION

Pleasure and pain form a part of everybody's earliest and most primitive experience; no doubt or mistake about these sensations seems possible. But whereas pain always remains the same stern chastiser, who can be recognized at once in every new form and under any disguise whatever, some forms of pleasure become more elusive when the expanding mind has reached a fuller state of development. Pleasure enters as one of the elements into strange mixtures and intricate compositions. Some of them, like the masochistic pleasure, — by no means confined to the sexual perversion of this name — borrow even the mask of the antagonist: pain. In this way it becomes at times a difficult problem to find out if an element of pleasure is present in a certain psychic phenomenon, and still more what the origin and peculiar structure of this element is.

Beauty is one of these compositions the formula of which we do not possess. There is pleasure among the gifts of beauty — but it is pleasure of some very particular sort and certainly not only pleasure. What are these other constituents and what is their relation to the pleasure principle? Is beauty always the same thing? Certainly not if we look at the conditions under which different individuals are able to experience it: one by a sequence of sounds, another by the arrangement of colors and forms; a third may even find it in abstract thoughts. It comes to some suddenly as a joyous surprise, to others as a result of long training and arduous preparation. Yet, in spite of these differences everyone seems to agree that the personal experience called "beauty" is identical whatever may be the cause or condition which brought it about and that it is something apart which can be easily distinguished from other sensations.

It seems that the problem of beauty is one of those which are apt to become more obscure by explanations. The countless theories which have been created around it are mountains of bootless endeavour, monuments of the unrewarded toil of centuries. This, instead

of working as a deterrent, has added a strong fascination to the quest, it stimulates the undying wish-phantasy of being the hero to whom it is reserved by a special favour of fate to succeed where all predecessors have failed, to penetrate the labyrinth of tangled logic and rescue the pure virginal truth from the monster which held it in durance. The present attempt although it tries to find shelter behind the traditional forms of scholarly modesty, is in this respect not better than it should be.

The great bulk of investigation about the nature of beauty has been piled up by metaphysical speculations or it makes a part of some system of philosophy. As everyone knows, the approach by observation of facts and by experiment is a comparatively modern innovation, and this is especially true in matters concerning the mind; anything so obviously connected with a man's soul was considered the exclusive domain of philosophy, metaphysics and theology. Psychology, the latest of the latecomers, was welcomed not too warmly when it tried to squeeze itself into an already overcrowded space. The bias of this attempt is clearly on the side of psychology, trying to get elbow-room for it, even at the cost of some older occupants.

Anyhow, we do not want to go in for a blind partisanship and will pay first some attention to the philosophical point of view. This started, as many similar problems, at two different epochs and from two different sides. The one being the antique wisdom, as represented mainly by Plato, Aristotle and their followers, and the other the scholastic, medieval speculation about beauty as an attribute of divine perfection. These two directions, which never had been quite out of touch with each other, were merged into the development of modern thought which started with the renaissance. From then on the tendency to follow the example set by the thinking of antiquity was uppermost and the scholastic methods fell to desuetude, without however losing entirely their direct or indirect influence.

It would lie far beyond our present scope to study the different schools of thought. We may note in passing with ill concealed satisfaction that some of the outstanding contributions have been made by men who were considered as outsiders by the heads of schools and the dispensers of the acknowledged wisdom of their day. Giambattista Vico's "Nuova Scienza" remained absolutely ig-

nored until a century after his death. Perhaps the most important advance in the general theory is due to Friedrich Schiller's, the poet's and playwright's "Briefe zur aesthetischen Erziehung des Menschengeschlechtes."

The answers which philosophers, both ancient and modern, have found for the problem of beauty are always interesting and quite a few of them sound convincing, but they all labour under the same disadvantage: they are, all and sundry, satisfactory only within the system with which and for which—or, to speak impersonally, by which—they have been evolved. Like Goethe's Homunculus they can live only in the crucible where they have been concocted. The satisfaction they give is a purely formal one and goes to pieces when it comes into touch with the hard facts outside. For example, they explain more or less perfectly the beauty of works of art or of objects of nature which have been recognized as beautiful long ago and without any help from theory. But if you hope to find out with their help some new, hitherto hidden beauty or try to use them as an indicator that can tell you in a reliable way how to distinguish between enduring beauty and passing fancy, you will be utterly disappointed. You will see that the men who formulated the authoritative canons of beauty were mistaken in their judgment in as many cases, if not in more than any ordinary human being. As a matter of fact, the discovery of new beauty which had been overlooked or scorned, the widening of our field of aesthetic vision is nearly entirely due to the artists who had the eyes or ears and the sensitive feeling for beauty and did not worry at all about the aesthetic theories. The discovery of the beauty in Japanese, Chinese, exotic and primitive art is due to them; the aesthetic theories came way behind as a sort of campfollower after the battle had been fought and won.

Even less help and more of a nuisance are these theories to the creative artist. It means always a danger and sometimes a catastrophe if he lets himself be guided by them in his attitude towards his work. (A number of creative artists have worked out aesthetic theories, but nearly always, like Emil Zola or Richard Wagner, they developed—consciously or unconsciously—a theory to suit their creative urge instead of fettering their inspiration to a theory. The best example is E. A. Poe's "Philosophy of Composition." By a process of crystal-clear reasoning he found out that the sub-

ject best suited for poetry was the death of a beautiful, pure maiden —a subject which had been from the start and always continued to be the pivot around which his creative imagination moved.)

In spite of these defects of the philosophical theories and in spite of the bias aforementioned, we won't be so foolish as to brush aside, with a smile of immense superiority, all the results of the intellectual endeavor and the sagacity of former generations. They did more than one thing that we cannot discard lightheartedly, but shall retain as serviceable for our present investigation. One of them is the "idea" of beauty which we owe to the philosophical habits of working with clearly defined and clear cut concepts. Many of these are too hidebound and rigid for our use or they form an intrinsic part of a philosophic system to which we do not want to subscribe. But the idea of beauty emphasizes an important fact that might get lost in the maze of psychological research, the fact that the sensation or impression of "beauty" is not restricted to a few chosen individuals, but is a universal one, common to mankind, and that this sensation is always and everywhere an experience that stands distinctly apart from "pleasure," "relief," "gratification" although it has something in common with these. In other words, it has a special quality which we cannot describe since the special qualities of our sensations nearly always defy description, but which we acknowledge as something characteristic and unique whenever we meet it. The idea of beauty does justice to the unique character whereas empirical psychology, starting from the observation of or the experiment with the individual reaction, loses sight of it too easily and is liable to confound other pleasant experiences with the specific one of beauty. Proceeding this way without warning we would let our problems go out of sight like the famous needle in the haystack. Likewise, when we analyze beauty, as we naturally intend to do, it is necessary to bear in mind that even if we get to know all the elements by which it is composed, this will hardly suffice to furnish the answer to our problem, since the phenomenon or experience of beauty is an entity, something different from the mere summation of its parts.

The psychological approach is toward the subjective aspects. The questions here are: First, by what psychic process or in which peculiar psychic situation or under the influence of what specific emo-

tional reaction does the sensation which is recognized as that of beauty emerge in the mind of an individual? Second, when this has been ascertained for a sufficient number of cases (individually and collectively), is there enough regularity in the process to consider it as a manifestation of a general rule? In this way the emphasis is nearly entirely taken away from the interest in the nature of the "beautiful" object. If anything is able to provide the needed stimulation, that is quite enough for us. It might be a rosebud or a radio-crooner, an organ recital or an oleograph and welcome, as far as we are concerned.

This extremely subjective point of view can be defended by sound arguments. It is demonstrable that an external object is not absolutely necessary for the psychic process which results in the feeling of beauty and not even the "imago" of an object produced by memory or phantasy is an intrinsic condition. The experience of beauty as an intrapsychic perception of God or the Universe or Eternal Love occurs frequently in a state of exaltation. The records of more than one ecstatic show that he was quite familiar with this kind of revelation. Artists and poets have told repeatedly similar experiences when the moment of creative inspiration entered their lives with overpowering strength.

It is common knowledge how much taste—the domination of one style of beauty over all others, sometimes to the exclusion of all others—varies. Epochs and stages of civilization differ in that respect perhaps more than in anything else. Things that seemed utterly repulsive at one time—as the "Gothic" to every cultured person in the first half of the eighteenth century or the "impressionism" to the average man in the second half of the nineteenth century—were greatly admired and greedily collected by a subsequent generation. The variations from one person to the next one, although covered up more by a common convention and tradition, are hardly less wide. In matters of beauty one man's poison may become any time another man's bread. But that is not yet all. Even given the same person and the same object the reactions may be diametrically opposite, without any change in taste or mood or frame of mind. For example: Looking at a building with the eye of an architect, a man finds it to be frightfully ugly, misshapen in all its proportions. Looking at it with the eye of a painter, seeing its lines and colours become a

part of and fit into the composition of a picture which his mind has created, he becomes aware of the beauty of the same object without losing sight of its ugliness.

Some of these different reactions in taste may impress us as more genuine, being the true, direct and uncontrolled expression of a man's emotional nature. Others are produced or suppressed, emphasized or obscured by authority, traditions, personal prejudice, national affinities or antipathies, the adherence to a class, to a political or religious group; but whatever their roots are, they all have an indubitable real existence which means that men spend on them part of their life-energy. It seems that the advocates of subjectivism have made quite a strong case for it. They are certainly nearer the truth than the extremists who attribute the sole importance to the object and believe that the secret of beauty can be resolved by a set of mathematical formulas containing the rules of beauty for lines, colours, sounds and everything else. But all the same, there are some facts on this side of the arguments which cannot be entirely ignored or overruled.

These facts may not be impressive, but they have a trait which endears them to the analyst: They belong to the primitive strata of the mind and to the earlier forms of civilization. They have therefore a claim to be considered as nearer to the foundations.

We have pointed out the diversities in taste between individuals and, still more outstanding, between nations and epochs. Naturally the farther back we look the more insignificant become these differences. This is the unavoidable consequence of the perspective of time which makes far away things look blurred and indistinct. Yet, there is something more in that than a common error due to the viewpoint of the observer. The ornaments or the utensils of Neolithic tribes, the patterns of tattoo on the bodies of Polynesian warriors, the human figures carved in wood, the primeval music or poetry, show always and everywhere some identical elements, in some cases an astonishing resemblance across time and space. We may assume that these elements are the expression of the sense of beauty existent at the time of their creation or even before that time.

We find that, although the elements of primitive art are so similar, the style of these works is never the same for different tribes or different epochs of the same tribe and we must expect to

find this differentiation in style still to be existent when we go farther and farther back in our quest for simplicity and primitivity. This is the consequence of the long history through which even the most primitive stages of civilization have passed — hardly less long than our own. The events of the past, slavery or domination, the social structure, the taboos and religious beliefs have left their individual stamp on the special form of the sense of beauty and on the availability of its expression in this or that way. This makes the style of art and beauty different for every tribe or nation and different at every new turning of civilization. Plenty or dearth, hunting or fishing, being a ploughman or a shepherd, matriarchal or patriarchal institutions leave their traces a long time after they have disappeared.

Even so certain persistent trends are recognizable, as e. g. the endeavour to produce harmony by the recurring patterns of lines, curves and contrasting colours or to reproduce living things and preserve as much of their vitality in the reproduction, as these palaeolithic cave dwellers did in their miraculous carvings and paintings. The similarities are still greater with the primitive forms of music and poetry which consist mostly in rhythmical repetitions. Most of these products were probably created with another object in view than the expression of beauty; primitive poetry, for example, was certainly used to make magic formulas and incantations powerful. But we can hardly doubt that the aesthetic satisfaction which they afforded was part of the magical or other value ascribed to them. If magic or whatever it was, stimulated the creation of similar manifestations of the primitive sense of beauty in different epochs and religions, this is quite enough for our thesis.

Being acquainted with the supreme importance of the beginning for every development, of the "rule by which your course was started" (Goethe), we are not inclined to minimize the importance of the objective side of our problem. On the contrary, having set our feet on this way we are able to recognize that these same primitive elements are still extant and play no minor part in our own concept of art as an expression of beauty. They are the stable atoms (this illustration is, of course, taken from the old-fashioned physics of pre-radium days) out of which styles and tastes are built up and into which they may dissolve again. Behind a great many — we could not be prepared to say how many and still less

to generalize in a reckless way and say: behind all — of our high-grade aesthetic effects lie, diversified of course by new combinations and disguised by a thousand tricks — the old rhythmic charm of the tom-tom, the symmetry of the recurrent lines on a clay vessel, the repetition of words or syllables in the magic formulas.

Since we have been driven to the conclusion that it is not enough to look at our problem exclusively from the subjective side, but that we have got to give some attention to the "things beautiful" as well, we cannot afford to neglect any longer a particular group of these things. Hitherto we have included in our observation only works that are created by men — works of art. We ought to be aware that works of art although they keep the first rank among the "things beautiful" cannot be identified summarily with beauty. It is true that no art can be without some glow, some faint reflection of beauty. But the main aspect of artistic creation is not, by necessity, its beauty nor is it indispensable that it was intended by its creator as being entirely beautiful. The "Brothers Karamasoff" is one of the greatest works of art, but it cannot be called beautiful, except by an undue stretch of meaning. On the other side we attribute beauty to things which show no traces of the intentional interference of human hands or minds — to the beauties of nature.

We can divide these beauties of nature in two classes. The first one where beauty appears to be within the scheme and purpose of nature or to use an expression which is not so harshly anthropomorphic, where beauty is the consequence of a development of which we can trace the direction and the tendency. Examples: wild flowers, the wings of a butterfly, the songs of some birds.

The second class emerges out of a combination of circumstances which we cannot conceive as the consequence of a development or of a "plan," but which appear at random, "purely accidentally" and vanish the same way, just as the colours of the rainbow sometimes unexpectedly glisten in the mud of a dirty street. Examples: Autumn-leaves in a puddle form a pattern of harmonious line and color; a number of different objects, trees, meadows, a river, are imbued for a time by the magic of atmospheric conditions with beauty; a rock, seen from a certain angle, stands out against the sky in a fascinating line; the sounds of waves and wind mingle into an accord — and so on.

At first sight the division into these two classes of natural beauty

may hardly seem worth while, but there is more in it for our purpose than strikes the eye. Concerning the first group we may rest assured of the truth of the old saying: *Natura artis magistra* — Nature is the teacher of art (and beauty). Men were certainly aware of the beauty of flowers or of the wings of a butterfly — that is of their symmetry, gracefully curving lines, bright and contrasting colours, or of the harmony and repetitions in the song of the birds — before — or to be on the side of caution — at least when they tried to produce similar effects by their own hands.

We cannot be so positive about the second, the "random" class. It is even possible that here the old saying has to be turned inside out: "*Ars naturae magistra*" — Art or the artistic mind has taken the lead and nature is following in its wake. We know how it happened that in some cases one of the "random" beauties of nature was discovered — one might even say 'subjected and tamed' — as in the matter of high mountains, barren rocks, precipices and glaciers, which were considered as awe-inspiring and repellent till the second half of the eighteenth century. It seems that this was the primitive reaction to the "wide world" in general: it aroused anxiety and no room was left for any aesthetic value since beauty and anxiety can never dwell together.

Bit by bit the anxiety was lessened and finally removed from several regions, partly through the heartening experience of ever extending domination over nature partly through the development of new psychic institutions which counteracted anxiety in these situations (perhaps, as a compensation, strengthening it in others). Then came the time when some strong minds — strong not in the worldly, but artistic sense — were able to discover the opportunities for a new, hitherto unknown beauty. They led the way and the rest of mankind (or some of it) followed like a child that dares to enter a strange room when led by the hand of a trusted adult. One might say with some right that beauty of that sort is rather a work of art, reprojected into nature. In this way Goethe describes his reaction when the pictures of an old Dutch painter had impressed themselves deeply on his mind. After leaving the gallery he saw things so much with the eyes of a painter that in passing through the streets, his actual surroundings to him seemed as if they were pictures of the old master that had come back to life and reality.

But we will not tarry any longer with definitions and distinc-

tions which have a dangerous leaning towards becoming empty words, but we will have a good look at the thing itself.

II. THE SADNESS OF IT

On second thought: By this last sentence we have bitten off more than we can chew. We would have to reconcile the subjective-psychological angle with the quest after the idea of beauty, in order to arrive at a unified and usable concept. We are far from being able to do this and consequently our problem is as clear and as well located as a fish in muddy water, seen through spectacles which do not focus. How shall we get at a definition? Well, never mind definitions: it shall be sufficient when, in following our usual method, we start with a vague, but generally recognized idea and try to give it more distinct and more correct features as we go along. But here too we hit a snag. The psychological aspect of beauty — and this is evidently the thinner end of the wedge for us which we have got to drive in first — is a sensation which like all the rest of them gets into consciousness directly and immediately, without the need of words and therefore defies words, descriptions and definitions (Freud, *The Ego and the Id*)¹. It is possible, of course, to describe and to transmit to the understanding of others the signs and symptoms which accompany regularly the sensation, as for example the heartbeating, cold sweat and paralysis which are characteristics of anxiety. The sensation called "anxiety" cannot be put into words in a way that would make sense to anyone who, like the boy in the Grimm fairy tale, has not succeeded "*das Gruseln zu lernen*" (learning how to shudder). All we can do about these sensations which originate somewhere within us and pierce directly into consciousness is to give them a name. Those who have had the experience recognize it as an old acquaintance; this is enough to make their understanding practically perfect, but it is useless for any theoretical purpose. Here we are then up against a blank wall! When asked: What is this beauty you are talking about, we have no better answer than by quoting the naive country girl in one of Johann Nestroy's comedies: "Ja, wenn das schoen ist, das ist freilich schoen." (Well, if this is beauty, all I can say it is beautiful indeed.)

1. Gesamtausgabe, Bd. VI, pp. 565-6.

As a matter of fact, our situation is not quite so hopeless as all that. We have a fair prospect to get on with our problem and collect some interesting descriptive details when we keep in mind that beauty is a universal or almost universal experience of mankind and that consequently it is quite legitimate to look at it from the social side. On what sort of people does it impress itself with the greatest force? Tell me with whom you consort and I will tell you who you are. What changes does it produce in their attitude to the rest of the world? Does it bring people closer together or does it impart to them a tendency towards isolation? We will discuss the last question first. That people love to crowd together in order to enjoy art — concerts, theaters, movies — or nature — picnics, group-excursions, cruises — need not interest us. This is well accounted for by practical motives and by the gregariousness of the average person, two factors which are so general and so powerful that they crop up everywhere, even when they are antagonistic to the main purpose. But art brings people together and unifies them — at least in a way and for a time — in a far deeper sense than making them sit in rows in a big hall or trot through long galleries. They are, as any movie-theatre shows, knit together by the brotherhood of common emotional reaction. This bond lasts as long as the audience is under the influence of the work and then disappears quietly — usually soon after the lights have gone on. Such a community is not dependent on physical nearness, it can exist as well between the passionate readers of a book although they will never meet each other.

Art, then, is a social agent, in so far as it binds people together, makes a unit out of an unorganized mass which has been thrown together in a fortuitous way. How long this social influence lasts, how deep it reaches, are questions which do not concern us here. We have to deal with another question: Is it the beauty-interest in art which produces this effect?

A psychoanalytical attempt at explanation (Hanns Sachs, *Gemeinsame Tagtraeume*) distinguishes at least for one form of art, the art of words, (literature) two components. One represents the repressed wishes of the author, to which, in eliminating his own person, he gives the form of phantasies which appeal to the unconscious of his audience without bringing it into conflict with their "censor" (Super-Ego). The emotional reaction which he produces in them means an involuntary admission that their own

repressed wishes are the same as his and in this way he is brought out of the isolation; his guilt-feeling does not make him any longer feel as an outcast, but becomes a bond between him and all those who lend him a willing ear. The other component is the beauty he gives to his work as a narcissistic compensation for his self-elimination. If there is anything true in this theory then it is exclusively the first element which exercises the social function, the second being narcissistic and therefore tending towards keeping the interest centered on one's own self. Observations show the same, namely that the mutual identification of the members of an audience is by no means proportionate to the beauty of the work. The vilest "thriller" can produce this effect as well, and even better, as a creation of perfect beauty. The objection could be made that such a statement enforces unjustifiably our own standard of beauty which, may it be high or low, others are not bound to make their own. Yet the fact remains that the rousing of their passion, or to express it more accurately their compassion, does the trick and that beauty plays in this respect only a secondary role. But is not beauty (and here we may speak of nature's beauty as well as of that of a work of art),—even if it is not efficient in the formation of a mass—a great power in knitting together some select kindred spirits, in bringing out the hidden sympathy between one individual and another? Haven't we read and heard and perhaps experienced ourselves that lovers or friends feel so much closer to each other after having been impressed in the same way by a picture, having admired a scenery, listened to music and felt the beauty of it as something very profound which from then on binds them to each other? Does the holding of hands in a beautiful moonlight night count for nothing? To these questions only one answer seems possible and yet we are inclined to maintain that in none of these situations the strongest, wholly undiluted effect of beauty is at work. Pure beauty in its highest manifestations does not favor interest in anything or anyone else, not even in the best friend or the most dearly beloved sweetheart. It gives a feeling of expansion—not, however, towards other people, but towards a miraculous isolation.

This contrast between the social effect of beauty in its fullest display and in its weaker expressions is our first encounter with a factor that will become of great moment as we continue our disqui-

sition — namely the quantitative element. With its help we may be able later on to dismiss what seems at this point a startling contradiction.

Our next move leads in a different direction. In raising the question whether and how beauty helps to tighten the bonds between man and man, we have tackled a problem of libido-theory. The hypothesis which was considered to conform best with analytic viewpoints — especially in their earlier form — stated that beauty was a sublimation derived from the erotic attraction of a sexually desired person, in short: sublimated object-libido. This hypothesis has some engaging features, among others its simplicity, but it suffers from two powerful drawbacks. First, no solid foundation for it has been worked out and second, it leaves too much unexplained. We can on this basis understand why we find beauty so often without any relation to sex: the libido component has to be sublimated i. e. desexualized. But then, why is sex-attraction so often utterly divorced from any feeling that the desired object is beautiful, as we see it happen with normal as well as perverse — or to say it better: with genital as well as praegenital libido and in actual relations as well as in wish-phantasies which are not limited to the possibilities offered by reality? To be desirable does not necessarily mean to be beautiful in the eyes of him who is stimulated by the desire. If the two, sex-attraction and beauty, were originally identical, a cleavage must have occurred in the course of development. Was it caused by guilt-feeling or anxiety which, although not strong enough to repress the one part of libido entirely or to rush it in an altered direction, yet, as an outcome of the struggle, destroyed its charm and its approval by the Super-Ego? Freud seems to have had this theory in mind when he pointed out that, even when the human body is considered as the chief revelation of beauty, the genitalia, the center of sexual attraction "have not participated in this development."

Schopenhauer with whom the analytical libido-theory agrees in many points, takes here the extreme opposite stand. Beauty, according to him, is made possible only by the absolute absence of desire; it is a form of self-abdication of the will, of which the libido — and here we begin to agree again — is the foremost representative, the "focal point of will."

This seems to go a bit too far as it sometimes happens with

philosophers, especially if they wish to round up their system. Our observation does not tend to prove that a lover's ardour is abated when he "spies beauty" in the woman he is in love with. Beauty certainly plays a great part as a form of "Sexual-Ueberschaetzung (overvaluation of the sex-object, Freud). The lover thus sees "Helen's beauty in Egypt's brow" or "Helenen in jedem Weibe" ("Helena in every woman, Goethe's "Faust"). This function of beauty, highly important as it is, can not be taken as an answer to everything. We have seen that libido, sex desire, can exist and attain great intensity without this form of Sexual-Ueberschaetzung. It remains to be seen why and how it develops in certain situations and is absent in others. An immediate gratification of the desire is certainly not favourable to it. A period of incubation by inner frustration (innere Versagung, Freud) seems indispensable for its germination.

It is high time to make a survey of our findings and to put them into a sort of order. We stated that a split may occur as the consequence of a conflict with anxiety which leaves the sexual desire at one side and beauty, entirely separated from it, at the other. Later we met beauty as a form of Sexual-Ueberschaetzung which is mostly due to an "inner frustration," which, in its turn, cannot be produced by anything else but anxiety or guilt-feeling or rather by the repression caused by their interference. The contradiction inherent in these statements can be resolved if we take into consideration the quantitative difference between our two cases. In the second the repression is partial or temporary which means that the struggle is not too embittered. The sex-drive is, after some hesitation, readmitted when it has been idealized or ennobled by the beauty of the object which thus becomes a necessary condition for falling in love (Liebes-Bedingung). In the first case the repression is much stronger and more insistent — or perhaps it ought to be described as being in the line of obsessional neurosis. The sex-drive remains, but loses its psychic value and capability for progressive development; it is henceforward kept in a dark and dirty corner, something closely akin to its anal degradation. The sublimation is kept far apart from it and in this way escapes from any conflict with anxiety. This coincides with the fact mentioned above that beauty and anxiety are absolutely irreconcilable.

We have got now a first and superficial understanding of the relations between libido and beauty; we see them resulting in a form of sublimation, but do not know what specific forces and mechanisms are essential for such a development. We will have to turn back and have another good look at the phenomenon.

It is a far cry from Schopenhauer to Catulle Mendés. Yet, one of the short stories of the man who, for a time, had quite a reputation as the mouthpiece of the lewdness reigning in the era of Napoleon III, contains an excellent piece of observation. He tells that one evening strolling through the streets of Paris he noticed a row of slot machines which for a small coin showed pictures of women in full or partial undress. He observed the leering interest with which men of all kind and description, well dressed and shabby, boys and old men, enjoyed the peep-show. He remarked that they all avoided one of these machines and wondering what uninteresting pictures it might show, he put his penny in the slot. To his great astonishment the generally shunned picture turned out to be the Venus of Medici. Now he begins to ponder: Why does nobody get excited about her? She is decidedly feminine and not less naked than the others which hold such strong fascination for everybody. Finally he finds a satisfactory answer: They fight shy of her because she is beautiful.

We hear so much of the "cult of beauty," of the power of beauty over every mind. But we hear and see all the same that beauty is overlooked, neglected, nay, positively shunned and kept in quarantine like an infectious disease. The usual explanation is that beauty is only for the select and refined ones and that the common multitude has to be taught and trained, their eyes and ears opened so that they become enabled to recognize and enjoy beauty. But this is all wrong. If the original of the Gioconda should be for some reason withdrawn and a mediocre copy put in its place, how many of those that crowd around it and of whom some pretend that it was worth travelling all the way from U.S. A. would find out? And of those who did, how many would do it with the help of some technical detail such as the fissures and not because of its minor beauty? And when they have done with the Mona Lisa and some other things about which they have been instructed to be enthusiastic see how bored the poor lambs are. They look at the copyists, they read their guidebooks, they bargain for photos and

souvenirs—it's interest and action they are after, not beauty.

Thousands of extremely cultured admirers of Van Gogh exist nowadays. How many of them, if they had lived at his time, would have reacted differently as his quite unrefined contemporaries did who wouldn't buy his pictures at any price?

The "immortals"—Aeschylos, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton, Goethe—are immortal by their name, not by the beauty of their works which hardly anyone reads except specialists who want to write about them. Most people read for interest and action, not for beauty.

Shall we go on and discuss the case of classic music versus swing? It would be tiresome to repeat things that have been said so often; the one thing that is worth emphasizing here is the falseness of the common belief that education and cultural background make a real difference for the fundamental reaction. They disguise the crudeness of it, since being well-bred means to be able to dissimulate boredom or apathy and to hide it behind a smoke-screen of polite phrases by which extremely well-bred people even may belie themselves. But what they really want is interest and action. Even the most genuine zeal for one form of art or another, brimful of the keenest sincerity, free from snobbishness and affectation is often found to be focussed on something extraneous to beauty. It may go back to personal associations, to historical or geographical predilections, to the collector's mania—in other words: to interest and action.

Is then this universally professed search for beauty simply a phony convention or "autosuggestion?" That would leave unexplained all the trouble and sacrifice to which people submit willingly for the sake of a little beauty.

Indeed, even primitive man, the neolithic cavedweller must have done a great deal of hard work with his tired, clumsy hands and still harder work with his untried clumsy brains in the service of beauty. The purpose that set him first to work, that drove him to do all this carving and scratching and painting and polishing may have had nothing to do with beauty, it may have been magic, which to him was the only practical way to get along in life. But magic or no magic, the way he worked shows clearly how his sense of beauty crept in and guided his fingers so that the crude lines he drew formed symmetrical figures and the colours he used produced

some simple harmonies. Have we degenerated steadily from the sense of beauty which our hairy ancestors possessed? The history of civilization proves the opposite. And if we look around in our own days, we see people everywhere snatching bits of beauty, feeling that their life would become intolerable without it, like the prisoner's life without the one beam of sunlight in his cell. Radio movies, glamour girls, magazine-covers, funnies, thrilling love stories — they all show a trivial, attenuated form of beauty, mixed with a great many other things (principally interest and action), but some grain of beauty is never missing. None of these things would be palatable if the element of beauty had been entirely discarded. We mentioned before the movie-audience which is knit together by common emotion — that is interest and action. But it is much easier to arouse such emotions if the path leading towards them is strewn with a few modest flowers of beauty.

Here the factor of quantity is brought home in full force. A great deal of beauty concentrated in one thing, pure and undiluted beauty, especially if it is of a new and unaccustomed kind finds few friends. Only the select few — not necessarily selected on the strength of their cultural background and their intellect — can enjoy it. Beauty in small quantities, mixed with other ingredients, is indispensable for everyone. It is like one of these biochemical stuffs without which a living organism cannot exist, but which in a concentrated dose are poisonous.

Beauty in the proper dose and mixed the right way wakes the energy, makes people gay and sociable, friendly, lovable and loving. Pure beauty drives those who are willing and able enough for its reception back into the depths of their inner self. It supersedes all their other interests, isolates them and makes them feel sad. The badge of true beauty is sadness — a sweet and wonderful sadness, but sadness all the same; it permits scarcely a smile and takes its followers far away from gayety and easy laughter.

The assertion that only a few people are able to recognize and enjoy beauty in its pure form, is founded on a fundamental mistake. The question is not one of discernment, since everyone has it potentially and within limits, but of possessing the rare qualities — what they are we do not yet know — which make the mind unafraid of its impact so that they do not shut themselves in or run away from it as a form of danger to their well-being.

Not how to understand beauty is the difficulty, but how to be able to stand it.

III. DIGRESSION INTO MOVIE-LAND

The animated cartoons are animated with a vengeance. Everything that is featured in them may spring into violent action any moment and it makes no difference whether it is the figure of a human being, an animal or a lifeless object. China-dolls, chairs and tables, telephones, etc., move around as freely and unconcernedly as if it were their natural and inherited right to act that way. The cartoons resuscitate or reinstate the primitive concept of the world called "animistic." In this world everything was alive and endowed with a personality; everything could be soothed or angered, threatened or conciliated. Everything could become either friendly and protective or hostile and dangerous, but it inclined mostly to the latter tendency. This was the world of our forefathers thousands of years ago and our own world when we were children — maybe quite as long ago if we measure time by our experience of repression and Ego-development. This world still exists for those races who didn't develop a higher level of civilization and for our own minds in so far as they have remained primitive in certain respects or when their primitive strata are brought to the surface in a specially favorable situation.

That is exactly what the animated cartoons are doing. They delight us in removing the restraint of our wearisome reality-adaptation and bringing us back to the land of our childhood (we ought not to call it childhood innocence because, as we will see presently, it is not innocence at all except in the narrow sense of absence of genital sexuality). It delights the children because it opens to them their own world, the world in which they would live if they were not hampered and hindered by those stupid adult views.

In one respect the world of animated cartoons differs greatly and much to its advantage from the world of animism. The life which the primitive mind ascribes to every being without distinction between man and beast, organic or inorganic, moving or inert, is its own life. It endows all the world with its own overflowing vitality. The libido — the term used in its widest sense — is not yet wedded to fixed psychic systems, it is free-floating and directly available to a much greater extent than that of the adult or

civilized person. Now, this primitive vitality consists to a great part of aggressive instincts and the animistic world brings that aggression home. It is full of demons and devils, of black magic and sorcery, and an endless series of taboos and rituals is needed as protection against these evil influences. The animistic world is filled with anxiety, the artificial animistic world of the cartoons is free from it. We will have to modify this last statement. It cannot be true in this oversimplified form. Animism is not possible without projected vitality which depends on free-floating libido which can not be thought of without aggression, which is bound to produce anxiety. The technique of the cartoon cannot do away with the anxiety-situation, no more than the fairy-tales can. If the anxiety is taken out, the animistic life goes with it and the result then would be something quite different — we will see later on where such a tendency would lead. Unable to eliminate or even to diminish the anxiety situations, the cartoons have found a way to circumvent or counterbalance their effect.

An example will be the best way to show this. Mickey Mouse is pursued by a fast rolling wheel with a razor-sharp edge. Around corners, uphill and downdale the inexorable pursuer follows his victim. We have before us a little animal, squealing and scurrying away from imminent destruction. This is a most unmistakably sadistic situation, apt to excite at one side our lust for cruelty and on the other our compassion and our identification with the sufferer of torments with which, in one way or another, we all are acquainted. The result would be anxiety everywhere else, but not here. We know that at the most critical moment the wheel will jump over Mickey or bounce back from its body or, if the worst comes to the worst, it will cut our darling into two halves which in the next moment will reunite and Mickey will be none the worse for this experience.

We would say that it is the amazing unreality of the world of cartoons which saves us from anxiety, an unreality which can never be achieved by the photographic medium where, even if the wildest tricks being used, we have still some surviving remnants of reality before us. It may be a shadow-fighting, but the shadows presuppose human beings and therefore human passions. Of all this burden the figures of the cartoons are free, since they are

neither descended from Adam nor the apes, but from the pencil of an artist.

This tremendous difference is not due to our knowledge of their origin. The passing but irresistible belief in the existence of the world which the creative phantasy of the artist has built the illusion, is not dependent on such intellectual concepts. It cannot be produced by a technique of deception that tries to simulate the reality of the action or situation. Going round the other way it influences the emotions so that the audience accepts the reality of the most unrealistic facts as long as their own emotions are sufficiently real i. e. vivid. Consequently the audience does not care in the least about the technique by which the figures it beholds were created, and would be as ready to tremble for Mickey's life as thousands of people have been moved to sadness and even to tears by the sufferings of the figures in a picture, in spite of their full knowledge that these figures were created by some drops of oil and paint and a collection of paint brushes.

No, the unrealistic and animistic effect of the cartoons does not lie in the fact that we know the medium by which they were produced, but in the particular and extraordinary possibilities which this medium contains. Every painter, draughts-man or cartoonist may be as unrealistic as he pleases and as the limitations of his phantasy permit. He can draw human beings, animals and machines which are far removed from anything that could be possibly met with in reality. Such fabulous creatures as the Sphinx and the Centaurs show that rich use has been made of this liberty. The animated cartoons have the same possibilities and they certainly make a thorough use of it; and besides all that they have something else that belongs to them exclusively and is of more weight than all the rest taken together. This unique quality is their unrestricted power of motion and action.

We have seen that in the cartoons a living being can as easily be cut in two and coalesce without effort as a piece of putty in the real world. A piano can jump and grin and snarl as well as any dog we know. In the five minutes during the showing of a cartoon-movie we see more action than in our slow moving world in many a day. What is more, the motion of their figures is constantly defying the laws of gravitation, by adapting them to their momentary whims, not by replacing them with any new

rule. Now there is nothing that holds us down so permanently and consistently to reality as the conviction that the laws of gravitation are always at work, since this conviction is due to an unbroken chain of experiences beginning at our birth or before that. Together with gravitation all other known laws of nature, causation and logic go over board whenever they are not wanted, and reappear in the most casual way when they are called back. In this way a world is created for our delight which is divested of reality and brought back to animism, being at the same time perfectly free from anxiety — that is as long as its creator uses his illimitable despotic power for the benevolent purpose of keeping anxiety out of it. He could always switch over to somewhat different methods, give his work more "human interest" and thus create anxiety. (He actually did it, perhaps could not avoid doing it, in those longer works which had to have more coherence and plot. How easy it is to overstep the "anxiety-line" is shown by the episode of the witch-stepmother in "Snow White" and of the transformation of boys to donkeys in "Pinocchio"). Generally we put full trust in him that he will keep his world free from anxiety, even from the least trace of it. How is this feeling of perfect assurance conveyed to us? By making us laugh uninterruptedly.

That these figures — Mickey and all his tribe — must be funny, is considered as a matter of course, but this in itself would not be enough. We have seen them as funny in the "Funnies" without even a smile. Another type of "characters" represents what would be the part of the villain in an ordinary plot. These giant mastiffs and similar monsters would be well suited to arouse anxiety if they were the least bit naturalistic, but their awe-inspiring appearance, their terrible fangs and claws and their growl are so exaggerated that instead of being terrifying they become laughable and even lovable. But the main technique for keeping the audience amused and relaxed all the time is motion, the characteristic motion of the cartoons, violent, explosive, unforeseeable and free from the fetters of physical laws and emotional reverberations.

It is an interesting fact that the cartoons have a marked preference for introducing young animals — kittens, goslings, piglets or babies. Mickey himself has, as Mollenhoff pointed out,²

2. American *Imago*, Vol. I., No. 3, p. 22.

some physiological marks of an infantile nature. The uncertain and imperfect manner of moving about and doing things — rather trying to do things — of a creature which has not yet attained its normal growth, is invariably slightly funny. It has only to be a bit overemphasized and caricatured to get a comic effect out of every act which it performs. The same holds true for the toys and mechanical dolls which are another favorite item of the cartoons (*Pinochio*). If their stiff and automatic ways of moving are accentuated, they cannot fail to become funny.

It will be worth while to repeat it and state it as clearly as possible that in order to create the animistic world, general and intense motion of everyone and everything would be sufficient. But to make this world enjoyable it needs a motion of a specific kind, unrestricted by any regard to our expectations or the general rule of physics. The action or plot has likewise to be free from paying respect to the rules of logic or morality (or immorality). It works in a way that is uninfluenced by morals or reason as its motion is regardless of gravitation.

This world is not quite without its beauty: we have seen that pleasure, at least aesthetic pleasure, cannot be bestowed without some grain, some small quantity of beauty, however diluted or adulterated it may be. In the cartoons this element of beauty is used in a cautious way. It is manifest in the colour-scheme which is worked out with no other view than to its beauty, but has nothing at all to do with action or motion, and in the accompanying music. But very wisely no attempt is made to fit beauty to the action. Only think how inexpressibly terrible it would be to see the *Venus of Milo* running away from a sharp-edged wheel!

Remember what an absolute washout the Blue Fairy was in "*Pinochio*" and the prince in "*Snow White*." (*Snow White* herself was safed or half safed by a slight injection of irony which made the way she talked somewhat of a caricature of a goody, goody high-school girl.) It might be said that this type of figure is not in Walt Disney's line, that they are outside of his realm of art. This is perfectly true, but it would be superficial to consider it as a mere accident. We should rather take it as the consequence of a law which is inherent in the "animistic world" of universal and unrestricted motion, that every attempt to have its "characters" approach beauty has a most unfortunate affect. It is bound to degenerate into an extremely

vulgar sort of prettiness which is way below the aesthetic level of the rest. The less we see of it the better.

In these assertions the presence of subjectivism — or prejudice, if you want to call names — can not be excluded. Anyone who sees these things differently has a good right to stay away. Moreover, there is no way to prove the conflict between perfect beauty and exuberant motility by experiment. If the conflict between these two has not been resolved into harmony by the cartoons which have been produced hitherto, that is no proof that it may not be done in the future or achieved in some other way. The millenium still may be coming when not only the lamb lies with the lion, but Mickey walks arm in arm with the Apollo of Belvedere.

If we persist all the same in pursuing the path which we have chosen, we get a step nearer to the understanding of a circumstance we have viewed with surprise. Pure beauty, we said, exercises a tendency towards isolation and is so closely akin to sadness that only a few courageous souls are willing to sustain its full impact. The motion which is characteristic of the animistic world of the cartoons has a diametrically opposite tendency: it is the expression of highest vitality which overflows the brink of the individual and inundates all the world around it, blotting out thereby the border-lines of the Ego and creating a mood of unbroken gayety and endless merrymaking. To attribute this condition to the simple fact that the primitive mind — the child's, the savage's, the cave-man's — has a large amount of libido at its disposition would be a fatal error. In face of our incapacity in measuring quantities of libido it would mean nothing better than a disguise of our ignorance by empty words. Psychoanalytic observations have shown us the real cause and opened the way for learning more about it. The first and fundamental stage, the nucleus out of which the personality will arise, is the Id, containing the libido in a free-flowing state without permanent kathexis or fixed directions. (We leave out, at present, the problem of narcissism since we will have to take it up separately.) By the subsequent development of which we name here only a few characteristic features: repression, adaptation to the reality principle, sublimation — some deeply dividing lines are brought about. The fully developed personality consists then of three separate systems (which are, of course, in constant communication) which exercise different functions and have dif-

ferent methods of reaction. The Id is still the main reservoir of libido, but the two other systems have in the course of their development acquired some portion of it and qualified it so as to serve, as far as possible, their own purposes. We have no need to go into the details of these intricate processes. It is sufficient to learn that through them the libido is modified; it loses, to a great extent, its free-flowing quality which was and continues to be characteristic for the Id. In the Ego-formation the libido kathexes (invests) certain objects, images and memories to the exclusion or suppression of others, it moves along a track prescribed by the Super-Ego, it operates within the framework of an organization and bows to its necessities, it becomes sublimated and desexualized, it recognizes reality even when it is unpleasant and unwelcome. All these things are comprised in what we usually call the "secondary process" as different from the primary one. But the primary process, even if it is regularly excluded from consciousness, still continues to exist, not only in the Id where it rules supreme, but also in the Ego and Superego, which have to make various concessions to its abundant flow of energy. One of them is the dream, but others are made while we are wide awake.

Obviously, what we call the animistic world of the cartoons is a piece of the Id, the general features of which have been projected on the screen. This projected Id enjoys the immense advantage of having become a world of its own, a self-contained and "autarkic" world, that is to say, it has no points where a conflict with the other parts of the psychic system (Ego and Superego) may arise and entertains no relations of any kind with the reality principle. This absence of all possible conflict is enhanced by the exclusion of anxiety and the intensified feeling of joyful vitality. If one of the two higher powers should show an unexpected severity and register displeasure with so much infantility, a dose of beauty is thrown in, just big enough to conciliate the straightlaced critic.

IV. THE DOUBLE DOORS

The cartoons have been used as a single example, selected from a long series. The same interpretation can be applied to many of their predecessors some of which can boast of their hoary antiquity. Among them we may name the *Punch and Judy* shows, the *clown*, *Hanswurst*, *Kasperle*, the *Marionettes* and a hundred similar

venerable institutions which have delighted children and put adults in a childish mood at all times and places. We could learn from each of these the same lesson as from the most modern example we have chosen. They all show that the Id-stage of libido has nothing to do with beauty in its full and pure form. If pregenital sexuality — which is the leading feature in this Id-stage — may still be thought of as the basis from which the sense of beauty began to grow, it has to be admitted that its evolution went a twisting way and finally took it entirely out of the domain of the Id. Even if one characteristic was retained, namely the disregard of the reality-test, it lost all others by which the parentage could be traced. Instead of boisterous gayety and surreptitious, unregulated motion the elements of beauty are harmony and sweet sadness. Instead of welcoming kinship with all the world it is selective and fastidious to the highest degree. Instead of projecting its energies outside, it has a tendency towards withdrawal and isolation. Is it possible that beauty developed into the opposite of its origin in the Id and its boundless vitality? Does it deserve the name given to sleep: the friendly brother of death?

The angle from which we have looked on these things could easily produce the impression that beauty as the manifestation of something opposed to motion is intrinsically static. This would be an unjustified oversimplification. There is undoubtedly a great deal of beauty which is static: pictures, statues, monuments, architecture, mountains; but we can not neglect the other part which is not static at all: poetry, dance, the sea and the clouds, and above everything: music. Music, one of the highest if not the highest form of beauty that has revealed itself to mankind, represents movement as rhythm and melody without any tendency to imitate reality even in a strictly stylized form. Furthermore, it is generally beyond the reach of any consciously recognized, described and classified emotion; of that we will hear more later on. (The "patriotic march" and the like of it don't contradict this statement. They are, esthetically, a misuse of the hidden potentialities of music, as is the "program music.") We must leave room for music in our meditations — and plenty of it.

We will have to elucidate the concept of being "static" before we start using it on a grand scale. Phenomena in space can be either moving or in a state of permanent rest; in the first case they

participate of the elements of space as well as time, in the second place they are without time-relation (their immobility being supposed to be eternal. This is not written for physicists.) Now, there are only two of our senses which convey to us what we consider as beauty in the objects — seeing and hearing, with the addition of the kinaesthetic sense as a later discovery. The other three are not far enough advanced to permit a sufficiently sharp distinction between "beautiful" and "pleasant." Hearing is built up on a succession in time, which makes immobility impossible. If we accept static as synonymous with immobile, then it is by definition excluded from music, dance, every kind of beauty that is tied up in a time-relation. On the other hand, if we use the term "static" in its narrow meaning, we would have to apply it indiscriminately to nearly all works of art, excepting only the movies. Such rigid and superficial appliance of the differentiation between mobility and immobility would trace separating lines of a quite arbitrary nature across the field of beauty which we try to investigate. We must see if we can give it a more pliant meaning which conforms better with the factors as we see them. We will put aside the question of time- and space-relations as a barrier standing in the way of any more profitable approach. The new emphasis on the kinaesthetic sense helps a great deal to find the way out of this quandary. It shows the possibility that a work of art may be "static" that is immobile in itself and still give the sensation of high mobility to the beholder. This puts our emphasis on reactions and stimulations of human energy; in short, we cling to our fundamentally dynamic point of view. We must be prepared to find no strict dividing lines, but sharply contrasting extremes with transitions between them.

As a good specimen of these contrasting extremes we choose the Egyptian statuary art, especially the monumental statues of sitting Pharaohs or gods on one hand and on the other some specimens of the Greek sculpture which convey so strongly the feeling of motion, like the Nike of Samothrake in the Louvre or still better, the sitting Hermes in bronze in the museum at Naples. The impression which the sitting Pharaoh produces is that of perfect and eternal immobility. We cannot imagine him in any other pose previous to sitting down and still less we can see him with our mind's eye getting up from his seat and standing. "Sint ut sunt aut non sint" — "they have to be as they are, or not to be at all." The Hermes —

taken here as an example for many of the highest creations of Greek art — is sitting too and the outlines of the bronze are as steady as those of the Egyptian stone. But the effect which he produces is a totally different one. We don't see him sit, we see him raise himself from a sitting position; we see the lightness, ease and grace with which his ambrosian body performs this in itself so ordinary action, and we know that he can glide through the ether and that his winged feet will skim the foam of the waves.

In both cases our imagination is stimulated into adding something to what we actually see, but the stimulation goes in opposite direction. The Pharao gives us the illusion of his permanent immobility: that means that behind the mask of a tangible and visible existence we are facing perfect immutability which is nothing else but death or not-existence. The Egyptian mummies are aiming at the same effect in a realistic instead of artistic way. Indeed, it seems to be the essential attitude of the Egyptian people, their religion and their religious art. The same emotional reaction is conveyed by means of a quite different form of art in the Byzantine mosaics of the sixth and seventh century (Ravenna, Saloniki, Constantinople). It is very likely the main factor in hieratic art everywhere.

The works of the opposite kind infuse in us an intense feeling of fervent vitality which is entirely different from that engendered by the cartoons. We believe in the animistic world because we see it actually going through its crazy movements, whereas in these great works of art we see a motion that is actually not here, because something — this something is just the little secret of great art — makes us supply it by the activity of our own mind. We are led on in a much more subtle way towards a much higher degree of participation. In a sense we are creating the work out of our own person while we are looking at it. The work or rather the artist who produced it has been able to change us into artistic creators, of course only for the duration of the time when we are able to take in his work and all its values with our senses as well as with all the rest of our mind. To bring about such a change — short or long does not matter when beauty is concerned — may be called the highest artistic achievement.

If we accept those two extreme types as really characteristic and confine our attention for the moment to art, we can envisage

beauty as the opening of two alternative doors — one leading to death and one to life.

We have been prepared to find a great many transitional forms in which the two extremes are mingled, sometimes so that they have become indistinguishable, sometimes with a marked preponderance of one or the other. The history of art furnishes us a great many examples for both possibilities. The hieratic tendency toward the immutable is dominant in the Romanesque and Gothic style, in the epoch ending with Cimabue and Giotto; it has still a marked influence on the Renaissance art, but gets nearly entirely lost when the late Renaissance turns into Baroque. One of the best demonstrations of a method to overcome the static element without introducing any actual motion is offered by impressionism. Instead of trying to reproduce single objects and their delineations it conveys them as a part of the enveloping medium, subject to the vibrations of light and atmosphere. The outlook of impressionistic art makes everything appear less solid and firm, and so a new beauty comes to light.

Art seems to possess mysterious possibilities for effecting a compromise between the two antagonistic powers, motion and immobility, life and death. The media of art, as rhythm, gradation, harmony express the emotional effect of such a compromise on the mind of the creative artist. He translates with their help and guidance his inner experience into shapes of lines or colors or sounds or words. The recipient (the audience, the reader, the beholder) is enabled to acquire indirectly the same emotional experience by translating them into reactions of his mind. That is what we call popularly the "understanding" of a work of art.

We may try now to get a first, although, uncertain glimpse of the way in which both sides — the special qualities of the object and the individual reaction of the subject — cooperate to bring about a result that finally may become the feeling of beauty.

When we dare to generalize what our quest hitherto found to be the essential features of beauty in art, it comes to that: In order to express emotional experiences the use of certain agents which impress the senses (sensual stimuli) is indispensable to the artist. What these agents are, what they have to do with the compromise between life and death, how they are connected with the emotions for the expression of which they are employed, we will have to in-

vestigate later. For our present purpose it will be sufficient to state that they are the necessary conveyances, or perhaps better: the springboards that are needed for the exterioration of the inner processes or — this being another aspect of the same thing — for the stimulation of "the other person" (the audience, the beholder, the reader) into the psychic activity which leads ultimately to his adopting the emotional content of the work as his personal own.

His reaction consists in deciphering — not intellectually, but by way of response from the Unconscious — the hieroglyphic symbols (strictly personal symbols they are for the greatest part). By this process an inner world is laid open to him which is and always has been his own, but into which he cannot enter without the help and stimulation coming from this particular work of art. Thus "flying with borrowed wings," a new possession in his inner life and the novel passionate experience bestows on him the thrills and pleasures of psychic expansion. His feet are set on the way to the feeling of beauty, but it needs something more than that to reach the stage of its actual evocation. What we have learnt in our previous investigations with some surprise about the sadness of beauty begins to make sense when we place it in this connection. We found that a staunch and unfaltering spirit, the privileged distinction of a selected minority, is needed in order to face beauty in its pure and undiluted form. The help and encouragement which art is able to bestow by expanding our inner life, opening up otherwise closed territories of the mind, giving us the use of "borrowed wings" makes the difficult task possible. It might have remained forever outside of human reach without the aid of art and its creators. Is it the relation in which beauty stands to motion and immutability, life and death, which makes such help and preparation necessary?

In shifting our attention to poetry we have the advantage of remaining within the domain of words. We can bring here directly whatever we deem useful as material or illustration and we can discuss it in what seems to be its own form of expression.

The beauty of the first stanza of Paul Verlaine's poem embodying the melancholy of autumn has never been disputed:

"Les sanglots longs
Des violons

De l'automne
 Blessent mon cœur
 D'une langueur
 Monotone."³

We need not dwell on the obvious characteristics: the simplicity of the language, the whole stanza consisting of one sentence without any complicating element; the metaphor which condenses the gloom of the autumn into the sighs of violins. The slow-moving rhythm; the two short lines followed by an even shorter one as if the strength for one syllable more had failed, and then the repetition as if driven on without will and power of resistance. A good deal more might be found and said without exhausting the mystery of the haunting lines, but we are going to focus our attention on one point which might be overlooked and yet is of special value to our disquisition.

The prevailing mood of the poem is not only incorporated in its content i. e. the meaning of its words, and in its rhymes and rhythmical peculiarities, but also in the use of the vowels. All of them are low and deep (setting aside the nearly soundless and unavoidable articles) with one great exception: After the series of low and monotonous sounds comes the word "blessent" with its piercing high vowel — and then the procession of sadly muttering goes on to die out on the deepest note: "monotone." Now it so happens that the sense of the word "blessent" has just the same function and effect in the poem as its high vowels in the midst of a muttering sameness: it springs up like a piercing blade, telling a tale of real pain and veritable suffering which is drowned again in the old hopeless, powerless moodiness.

We see that it is quite unjustified to draw a line of differentiation between the content of a poem — the meaning of its words — and the form — the rhythmic and sound effect of these words. Both are used for the same purpose, not to convey any intellectual notion, but for the manifestation of an emotional reaction by an absolutely unique technique. If we call it "sadness" in Verlaine's poem, we have classified it, found a pigeon-hole for our intellectual use, but certainly conveyed no idea of its nature. As a matter of fact

3. Paul Verlaine, Poèmes Saturniens, "Chanson d' Automne."

this cannot be done — nor need it be done — by any other means than by the poem itself. Consequently, the meaning of the words without their sounds is quite as unable to produce the effect as the sounds are without the meaning. (This goes to show that poetry cannot be rendered in another language. The translation is either a new poem, based on the old one, or — more often — nothing at all.) The beauty of the poem is closely bound up with this uniqueness. It cannot be created by a secondary unification of sense and sound, content and form. They are not brought together by an afterthought, they are born simultaneously, are conceived as one and the same thing. Any attempt to separate them destroys all the significance of the poem and leaves nothing of it but dust and ashes.

It is unnecessary to give further illustrations. Any number of them is at hand and they are interesting enough. But the fundamental principle will be always found to be the same whereas the technique by which it is substantiated varies in a thousand different ways.

The same principle holds true in an attenuated form for prose as well as poetry—for beautiful prose at least. It has to have its own rhythm, although this is less obvious than in poetry; it does not follow any set rule, yet, if you take it away, every sentence moves clumsily like an eagle with clipped wings. Variation, emphasis, gradation and all other qualities which make for a good style become impossible. Nor can the sense, however strict the reasoning might be, produce the full effect without the hidden melody provided by the right use of rhythm and the sound values.

The ideal of unity between form and content is the same in poetry and in prose. The difference consists only in the degree and the technique. No wonder that the line dividing them is so uncertain. (As in Nietzsche's "Nachlied Zarathustra's"). In poetry becomes the outstanding and dominating feature what in average prose can be found as an undercurrent. To try to understand the sense or reasoning of a piece of poetry e. g. Hamlet's famous monologue isolated from its sound and rhythm would be as futile as to appreciate the beauty of the colors of a picture by removing them from the place where the master's brush has put them and rearrange them according to the spectrum.

We are facing here again the phenomenon of the unlocking

of closed gates by the influence of a work of art. The particular emotional situation which it permits us to experience for the first time has always been in our potential possession. We feel convinced of it, we are sometimes even able to identify it afterwards. Yet, it was not within our unaided power to make it really our own, to possess it as a recognizable part of our personality, to distinguish it from other, similar emotions or to call it back at will when our mood desired it. For all that we are indebted to the poem.

We may add that the poem is as well indebted to us. That an arrangement of words can do more than words are able to do in their regular function, namely not only to denominate, describe and classify an emotion, but to evoke, embody and represent it, becomes possible because we, the recipients, recreate it. We are doing that by giving our own life-blood out of the immense, chaotic, ordinarily inaccessible store of emotional possibilities which is our *Id*.

We have learnt already that to see the vitality of the *Id* before us in the animistic world of the cartoon creates pleasure and gayety — but not beauty. The process we are studying now is of different order. The cartoons are throwing open the doors to the realms of *Id*-vitality; it depends on our good will whether we enter or decline to do so, but with this choice our activity is ended. Everything has been done for us. Poetry, on the other hand, has nothing to offer that is ready made for everyone's consumption and could be accepted and enjoyed in passivity. As soon as our eagerness to convert words, sounds and rhythm into an emotional situation begins to flag, the poem becomes a jingle, consisting of a number of words. This difference between passive acceptance and active re-creation leads to another more important one. The cartoons conformed to the chaotic conditions of the *Id*. Indeed, the disregard of all logical, physiological and physical rules, the freedom from the shackles of causation is the *Id*-feature which they portray above all others. The emotional reaction towards which we are led by a poem — by any work of art, maybe even by anything of beauty — is a quite singular and definite one, like a statue cut out of the shapeless block. The chaos is left behind and we are not longer under its influence; an *Id*-content is changed into an enrichment of our *Ego*.

Anything which releases an Id-content without arousing conflicts with the Ego or Super-Ego is apt to be felt as pleasurable. Freud has demonstrated some of the techniques by which this pleasure can be attained in his investigations on wit and comics. But these results are miles away from the problem of beauty.

The pleasure derived from wit and similar devices is derived from the spared exertion (*Aufwand-Ersparnis*) which has become unnecessary through the release of a suppressed or repressed affect, mostly of an aggressive or erotic nature. For the artistic creation the dealing with a suppressed or repressed affect is not an intrinsic condition. It is well known and has been well documented in psychoanalytic literature that repressed psychic material, especially the phantasies belonging to the Oedipus-Complex, play a great part in it. But this has no necessary relation to the artistic value and the beauty of the work. A tragedy might contain the most poignant presentation of the Oedipus-Complex and yet be a crude and immature performance, not in the least like "Hamlet." In Verlaine's poem we have seen an example of supreme beauty although the emotional content — the melancholy of autumn and loneliness — is only vaguely connected with repressed contents of the mind. Nor does "release" describe adequately the handling of the emotion. Not its release, but its embodiment is the achievement of poetry. The emotional situation — it does not make a vital difference whether it belongs to the preconscious or repressed material — is present in every detail as well as in the whole. The sense of the words expresses it and so does the style, the metaphorical and other imagery; the rhythm and the verse and the sequence of sound repeat it. It is like the tree in the fairy tale, every leaf of it whispers the same word.

What happens to those who are under the spell of poetry is something else than a release from repression: it is the emergence of an emotional experience which was hitherto only vaguely known, into full comprehension and intuitive understanding: the formation of indistinct psychic material into a unique awareness or to say it more forcefully, a new emotional reality which is safe from being spoiled or distorted or sidetracked as it happens so often to those in actual life. Since this emotional reality is altogether of our own making — with the help of the poem, of course, — there is no unnecessary waiting and disenchanting anticipi-

pation beyond the exact measure of the necessary gradation of tension, no anticlimax, no disappointment. The activity used in creating this reality is a toil well repaid.

This emotional reality has nothing to do with the realistic or naturalistic rendering of emotion. On the contrary, all the constituents of poetry which have passed muster — and those which have been not mentioned as well — are widely apart from such portrayings. The characteristic of emotional expressions is their explosiveness; they rush onward, are not for two consecutive moments the same, bring with them a feeling of restlessness, want to spend themselves as fast as possible. Their element is perpetual motion which is a mark of their true nature, a part or direct offspring of the Id. In full contrast to this tendency the outstanding feature of poesy is retardation. The rhythm, being based on repetitions, stems the flow in seeming to yield to it. So does the rhyme which rouses the expectation for the recurrence of the same sounds and satisfies it. So does the style of poetic imagination, branching out in all sorts of figures and personifications which repeat the same content under various forms. So does everything including the arrangement of sounds, which binds the emotion to a well ordered sequence, to a gradation, to an increase and decrease of inner tension in which nothing is left to arbitrariness.

The explanation of this contradiction between the supreme reality of the emotional experience and the absolute irreality and seeming inadequacy of the means used in the rendering of the emotion is not difficult to show. It lies in the twofold function of poesy. The first consists in bringing up the emotion — or stimulating us to bring it up — from the Id with as little loss as possible of its freshness, directness, impact and general power to sway the mind. But this in itself would not result in an aesthetic effect nor would it be — in most cases — the least bit welcome. The second function then consists in preserving all the Id-features to which the poem owes its emotional reality or even super-reality and at the same time divesting it from the most important of all Id — characteristics, the passionate, irresistible, unfettered and unpredictable motion. It keeps all the emotional intensity of the Id and conforms in spite of that to the demands of the Ego which has always to be on guard against being swamped by the emotional

energies of the Id. It represents at the same time the fullest emotional reality and irreality. We have seen how this is done. The main Id-character of motion, meaning the impulsive, unruly, chaotic motion of Id-drives, is destroyed or taken away by retardation or repetition as we called it; that is nothing less than imposing on it the static principle — the compromise we have seen before.

It is certainly of interest to meet here again an old acquaintance. We will not be prevented from recognizing the static element because it is not nearly so absolute here as with the Egyptian statues, but appears in a form which is due to another sort of compromise. Motion in our present case is not extinguished, but its "freedom," that is its irresponsibility and irregularity is brought under the domination of unformulated, but none the less strict rules. Some of them are known, others still mysterious, but they have to be obeyed or the intended effect of the work gets lost. These rules, demanding various forms of retardation, repetition and other restrictions and regulations of the emotional outflow, represent effectively the static element.

We come now to the last and most difficult part of our survey. Music, the art-form which comes nearest to being the pure embodiment of beauty, is as enigmatic as beauty itself. We can learn something, however, by comparing it with the poetry; we can conceive music at the highest form which poetry attains when it has shed the last "Erdenrest, zu tragen peinlich" (rest of earthiness, repugnant to bear). Music acts on the acoustic sense (only some less purified forms like march and dance-music are concerned with the crude kinaesthetic side) without even the association of visual imagery such as words bring with them. Hearing is a purely passive way of sensory reception; all the activity therefore is left to the mind with the least possible interference.

The material used by music, the sounds, are selected with an exclusive regard to their own intrinsic quality as high or low, long or short etc. or their own interaction among themselves: diatonic or atonal, rhythmic integration or disintegration, harmony or discord or whatever the principle may be. They are quite free from any conscious ideational content. They have no other message to convey than their own effect on the hearer's ear and mind.

Starting from our conception of the forces which are at work in the building of poetry, we are led to the following explanation:

(Let us rather call it a working hypothesis in view of its speculative foundation.) Music gives an emotional situation or the change or sequence of emotional situations in a more direct, immediate and precise way than it can be done by anything else in the world. Unhampered by contents it can embody and convey emotion with a nicety and accuracy of nuance that is quite unattainable by any intellectual process or by any intrinsic connection with objective facts, be they real or imaginary. The listener to a Beethoven sonata may, if the spirit moves him, be carried away to the phantasy of a gliding stream between mossy banks, or a field of wheat undulating in the wind, or a deserted street in moonlight or to nothing at all. It does not matter since all and none of these are present in the music. They are his stepping stones (which he will use if he belongs to the visual type), but with them or without them he is led to the same goal: to the experience of an emotional situation which has been his in potentiality, but which he never can hope to attain in such unmixed purity and fulness as the music has stirred it up from the depth of his soul. The sonata takes the place of a parcel of his undisclosed, voiceless and shapeless emotions — the most magnificent bargain in the world.

Music produces the highest emotional reality and with it goes, as a matter of course, the highest degree of unreality in every other respect. It is marked by the absence of objective contents to which the emotion could be linked or which could be responsible for it. Furthermore, the static principle is more powerful in music than in poetry. The rules may be new or old, personal or traditional, but once established they hold an absolute supremacy. They may be primitive harmony, complicated counterpoint or a new revolutionary invention, in any case their right cannot be questioned.

Emotional utterance, even if it imparts the true vibrations of the soul, without the ascendancy of the static principle which effaces parts of its *Id*-character, is neither music nor beauty.

V.

CONCLUSIONS, CONSTRUCTIONS AND CONJECTURES

We have to go back to one of our principal starting points, the question what happens when men try to get the gratification of their wishes independent of the reality, either in ignoring or

in defying the reality-principle. This occurs when the reality frustrates or postpones too long the desired wish-fulfillment; when an inner obstacle (repression) inhibits the aiming (aeussere und innere Versagung), and finally when the attempt is made to nullify a passive experience by repeating it, in some way in order to assume the active role. For our present issue the three situations, although different in many ways, can be taken as equivalent. Their common feature is the "wishful thinking" which pushes the reality principle out or puts it into a dark corner. But "wishful thinking" is too superficial if we want to give an accurate comprehensive description. A wish-phantasy of some intensity is even with us hardly ever a mere mental act, but has its counterpart in the reactions of the body: facial expressions, words or incoherent sounds, gesticulations, "magic gestures" are a constant part of it. (Rodins "Thinker" is a good illustration.) In a more primitive stage of development — represented by the "savages" and the "little savages," children, — this is still more obvious. Where the mind has attained less controlling force and the restrictions of civilized manners have no firm hold, the actions by which the body expresses or accompanies the mental acts of phantasying cannot be overlooked although they serve no practical purpose. The wishful thinking and the wishful acting-out are two sides of the same thing and remain always closely interwoven, but it will be worth while to look at each of them separately. The reactions of the body (expression of the face, sound, gesticulation) can be observed by others, which gives them a direct social importance lacking to the mere mental processes. If these others are in an identical psychic situation and react in the same way, they will be able to understand them and eventually participate. Doing things together, in a social way, instead of staying in isolation, is some help. "Juvat socios habuisse malorum." This help becomes more consequential when some deprivation, imposed by the unfriendly reality can be denied by a collective act expressing a collective wish-fulfillment phantasy. When all act concertedly, it fosters the belief in the truth of the desired illusion or the hope that it may become real and produces what we call a mass-suggestion. The greatest advantage in making these reactions of the body a social act is derived in the case of repressed wishes; it becomes then a mute, but general confession as well as an imaginary satisfaction and as such affords alleviation to the guilt-feeling. We

cannot doubt that strong motives are at work to socialize the body-expressions of the wish-phantasy and for that end get them standardized. This happens actually even among the most primitive of primitive people. Outside of the realistic occupation like hunting or fishing their main activities are magic dances or pantomimes. In this way the collectivized and formalized movements which act out and express a wish-phantasy become the seed of art and religion. The magical efficacy which is universally attributed to them proves that they still retain their intimate connection with the wishing power (omnipotence of thought). If spectators are present who do not take an active part in the dance, then for the first time the division of activity in creative and receptive parts takes place which becomes characteristic for art in general. One person, or group of persons, performs or creates — in this primitive form using only their own body as material — whereas the other person or group become the recipients who react on the stimulation with their inner, but without any or with a very restricted outside activity.

We have a name ready for all these performances which includes more than the primeval dance-pantomime, we will call them "playing." Even the totem sacrifice in the sense which Freud has given to it, is nothing else but the playing of parricide by substituting an animal for the father. This crude play was still alive and popular behind all the refinement of an eminently artistic people. It was repeated in the high form of the Greek tragedy and will be repeated in the future under some form or other, high or low.

We have another excellent reason to prefer the simple appellation: play. We want to emphasize that these actions are bound to forms and surrounding circumstances of such sort that they can never be mistaken for the real thing, neither by the performer nor by the audience. This insistence on the unreality is less necessary on the phantasy-side. Psychic processes are as such easily distinguished from facts and acts. If the phantasy is about a forbidden (repressed) wish, more disguise is needed; if this has been performed successfully, a further insistence on the unreality is superfluous. Play, being not only a mental process but acts of the body, with these actions is trespassing on the grounds of reality and therefore has to be counterbalanced by a constant self-warning that it is not intended to become a real practical exploit, but may be con-

tinued only as a play. "I don't think it is quite nice what you are doing there, Johnnie." "But, mother, don't you see that I am just playing?"

This is a new and very cogent motive for standardization or stylization. It makes, as we have seen, collective action possible and works as a reliable reminder that these actions are not meant to produce any realistic effect, like the practical acts of spearing an animal and eating it — that they are just play. (Such play can succeed in having tremendous results, but they are of a different order, magical and later on artistic.)⁴ Side by side with the insistence on the irreality of the act which helps to transform it from an irregular emotional response into a collective and standardized action — in short gives it "style" — we find another tendency of equal importance. It is the constant assertion of activity as a means to contradict and nullify any reminiscence of a passive situation or of being powerless. The play expunges more thoroughly the experience of an unwelcome passivity by repeating the situation in the emended form. Every enterprise becomes successful when it is worked into a play — all children learn that and remember it as adults.

Activity is of no lesser significance for the relation to the inner world. The energies of the Id which, in a situation of frustration, threaten to swamp and overwhelm the Ego are deflected in this way and find an outlet. The weakness of the Ego is compensated by an activity of the body, performed with the consent and under the control of the Ego. This is more an illusion than an actual fact since the real instigator, the power behind the throne, is the Id. But it is not the only case where the Ego has to accept a compromise

4. Schiller in his "Letters concerning the Aesthetic Education of Mankind" is led by philosophical speculations to the same result, making play the basis of all aesthetics. He also recognizes the importance of the contrast between change (motion) and immutability (absolute being) for the concept of beauty. Here are two characteristic quotations. "The sensual drive wishes that there should be a change, that time may have a content; the form-drive wishes that time should be non-existent, that there be no change. The drive then (I may be permitted to call it play-drive till I have justified the name), the play-drive then would be directed towards effacing the time in the time, to conciliate evolution with absolute being, change with identity." (Letter XIV). "The object of the sensual drive, expressed in a general idea, is life in its widest sense. . . . The object of the form-drive, expressed in a general idea, is called shape. . . . the object of the play-drive, conceived as a general scheme, may then be called *living shape*; an idea which is used as designation for all aesthetic qualities of a phenomenon and, in one word, for everything that is called beauty in the widest sense." (Letter XV).

which leaves to it not much more than the semblance of independence.

The activity is not entirely restricted to the performer or performers. The audience does not participate directly, or to be more accurate, they are not active in an easily perceptible or organized way, but hardly ever able to remain quite rigid. On a primitive level they show this by handclapping, rhythmical swaying etc. Under stricter discipline these signs become less and less discernible, but they hardly disappear entirely. Indirectly, by an identification, the audience is stimulated into activity and this mutual activity of creator and recipient is still preserved in the final development.

The prominent part which repetition plays as a mechanism for producing aesthetic effects can be better understood on this basis. Freud has demonstrated that an economy of effort (*Aufwands-Ersparnis*) is achieved when in place of the new and unknown an entity with which we are already well acquainted reappears and fits so well in its new place that the expected effort becomes superfluous. We can add the usefulness of repetition in the service of the tendency to make any pursuit unreal without depriving it of activity. Practical actions which have a driving force of emotion behind them can not be repeated in exactly the same way. The adaptation to their purpose demands greater or smaller alterations. The repetition demonstrates the independence from practical ends by lending to the task the character of a ritual. On the other hand the illusion of free activity is fostered when the action can be repeated at will. The every-day experiences of life prove, much too often for comfort, that emotions have a way of their own. It was comforting to be able to perform at will the movements which originally served as expressions of emotions and still possessed a rich emotional background.

The emotional life is in constant fluctuation between two opposite poles, representing the intensity of the urge and the force of inhibition. We need not repeat here the whole theory of repression: it will be sufficient to recall that the most effective weapon of the Super-Ego is anxiety (and guilt-feeling). The onrush of desire is met and held in check when anxiety has given the signal of approaching danger. We know also that this conflict when fought out in the realm of phantasies and within a limited psychic area

can be made attractive and interesting like a tourney or sham battle.

Anxiety, used with circumspection so as not to get out of hand and brought in by well measured gradations and with a view to a final full release ("happy ending"), furnishes a great deal of the interest and attraction of fiction in general. (It has to be well understood that this interest although it ranges among the aesthetic phenomena is neither identical nor coincidental with beauty.) The approval of the ways in which the phantasy has been formed by the audience is not achieved by the striving for elimination of the struggle between desire and anxiety, wish-fulfillment and frustration. This conflict although it is painful enough in the raw state of nature can by the help of certain mechanisms be softened down sufficiently that the pleasure of its playwise reproduction greatly outweighs the unpleasantness.

The "airy nothings" of phantasy can be handled more deftly than the play-actions which have some of the clumsiness of reality. But then, a mere phantasy could never be transmitted to others, would always be condemned to remain in social isolation if it had not its "playside" too — at least the play with words.

The primitive play consists in motions of the body which become standardized and stylized and in this way inevitably rhythmical. These rhythmical movements are sources of pleasure in their own right; the pleasure derived through them belongs to the pre-genital stage in childhood from which originates the group of pre-pleasures (Vorlust) with the normal adult. (It is none of our business to investigate its several sources as: autoerotism, represented by muscular and skin erotism, displaced masturbation, preparatory mating gestures, narcissistic gratification etc.)

The endeavor to intensify this pleasure will lead to several ways of emphasizing and dramatizing the motions by adding to the body feathers, furs, flowers and tattooing. All these are considered by ethnologists as means to exercise magical powers. We have no reason to contradict them. The magical purpose does not take anything away from the importance of primitive body-pleasure, on the contrary, both spring very likely from the same psychic force and work hand in hand.

These ornaments indicate a growing regard for the audience. They mark the beginning of a mutual reaction. Instead of one sub-

ject, in mere self-enjoyment, we see here a definite and intentional division between one who creates and the other who reacts on the stimulation. This development advances further in the direction towards art when the emphasis gets shifted from the original auto-erotic and narcissistic pleasure derived from the body. The primitive form of narcissistic gratification which a person finds in himself, he being his entire world, gives place to a less exclusive one when the approval, the admiration, the love of the others is needed. Other objects which primarily were used to ornament the body or to represent it vicariously in order to achieve this effect on the bystanders, get endowed with a steadily increasing independent value. The creator transfers the expression of his strivings and passions together with his expectation of narcissistic satisfaction from his own person to the things he produces. He retains his creative pleasure even when they have ceased to have a direct relation to his body. On a higher sublimated level it is still as intense as it was in the primitive dancer but he disappears behind his work and attains the reactions of the audience not any longer by means of his person, but by his work.⁵ (Modern dance, pantomime, acting are not a continuation on the primitive level since they are based on music and the drama. They could rather be called a partial return to a more direct form of artistic selfexpression.)

In this manner the motions which originally expressed affects and relieved emotional tensions, after being regulated by the influence of collectivization, stylization and rhythm were finally transferred to the production which still served — although in an indirect and roundabout way — for the same purpose. A tenuous, but uninterrupted, line connects the highest results of creative endeavor with the play-manifestations of the Id and its drives. In music and in poetry — which as a way of expressing and conveying emotional reactions precedes prose by untold ages — the main character of rhythmical motion is best preserved.

The reproductions of the genitals which are so frequent on primitive cultural levels show a special aspect of this hypothesis. It may be presumed that at first they were used to perform the sexual act as substitutes, probably beginning with a simple sym-

5. For the motives of this unusual modesty of the artist cf. "Gemeinsame Tagträume" by H. Sachs.

bolical performance as the throwing of a spear into a hole in the ground. Then the interest was transferred from the act to the actors and more elaborate reproductions either of the phallus or the vulva or both were manufactured. The act became the symbolic performance of a hiero-gamos which became later an intrinsic part of the worship and the religious ceremonies of many highly civilized nations of antiquity. For this purpose the rest of the body was reproduced only as a sort of appendix, with emphasis on its erogenic and erotically exciting parts (breasts, buttocks, mouth). The reproduction of violent activities (hunting, fighting) or of their objects (wild animals) may have also been fashioned aside of their magical usefulness, for the pleasure afforded by indirect play-action.

The abstract lines, angles, curves and colors of the ornamental patterns retain the rhythmical, repetitive motions without conscious connections with their affective content.

In summing up we can say that the play-aspect of the wishful Id-power has some special features which are not existent or less strongly marked where phantasy is at work as a mere mental act. The insistence on the irreality made necessary by the fact that every act, however playful, has dealings with reality, is one of these traits. The importance of repetition and rhythm is another. The last and, as it seems, most consequential one is that these acts and motions are able to give a pleasure of their own which has to be characterized as pre-pleasure (*Vorlust*). By the use of genital symbols and images this pre-pleasure-mechanism is extended to the indirect or symbolical execution of the genital act — but without genital orgasm. The end-pleasure is brought down to the level of pre-pleasure by substituting a play with symbolic or naturalistic imitations for the stark reality of a prohibited or unattainable sexual act. We can see this more clearly if we contrast it with the mechanism of sexual perversions, which put what is normally pre-pleasure in the place of final pleasure and endow it with the orgiastic quality. This phallic play-acting puts an imitated final pleasure down to the ranks of pre-pleasure.

Seen exclusively from this angle the play has a function which is opposite (and can of course be used as a complement) to phantasy. We have learned that phantasy is fluctuating between the poles of pleasure and inhibition and that its greatest achievement consists

not in keeping anxiety out, but in handling and apportioning it skillfully so that it cooperates in producing interest and attraction. The play-aspect stresses less the fluctuation and more the compromise on the static side. It contains pre-pleasure as a constant integral element and by holding out this pleasure-premium (*Lust-präemie*) it tries to hold the emotional situation entirely on this level. It is an excellent, a thoroughly praiseworthy plan to compensate frustration and relieve repression without conflict with anxiety, but we cannot understand how it is possible to make it work. Every wish and desire rushes to its final goal, all pre-pleasures leave a tension that incites to going on farther and farther till the end-pleasure is reached. They can, of course, be kept away from their natural goal by repression and inhibition, but that would result in a situation which is neither static nor pleasurable and therefore certainly not worth the trouble. If the development of the play-technique really succeeded in producing a lasting pre-pleasure situation, then some other power which we have not detected must have intervened. Here we will let fall the thread of our deliberations to pick it up again when the favorable moment arrives. For the present we turn our attention to another part of our problem. Hitherto we have considered the interplay of human reactions or between man and man. In turning another page and examining man's aesthetic reactions to nature we find a new alley of approach. In this realm changes have occurred and new things have happened, not in the remote past of the human race or in the earliest phases of childhood, but so to speak under our eyes, within the last two or three centuries.

In antiquity and probably with most people of a high cultural standard, the aesthetic value of nature was well recognized, but it was restricted to those aspects when nature appears as kind, gentle and ready to give with an unsparing hand. From Homer to Horace and from Horace to the painters and poets of the Renaissance we find this trend which must not be mistaken for a purely utilitarian one. What mattered was not the actual advantage that men derived from the surrounding nature, but the friendliness and liberality, we may say the motherliness (perhaps better: parental attitude) of nature, which they wanted to depict as its reliable characteristic and without a seamy side to it. This promise and confidence meant more, as far as the aesthetic effect was con-

cerned, than the actual bounty. The spring and its messengers, blossoms, flowers, butterflies, which raise the hopes for future happiness and plenty, have always been considered as revealing the beauty of nature as much, if not more, as the harvest with its abundance. The desire to see the kind, parental, smiling side of nature to the exclusion of all others, makes those situations specially attractive where the human activity, the hard work, plays a minor part so that nature's eagerness to provide nourishment to man, to feed and support him, appears at its best. For this reason the life of the shepherd has always attracted the artistic imagination more than that of the tiller of the soil. The Bible is full of this poetic idealization. The patriarchs, are shepherds, the psalms and prophets praise the peacefulness and ease of this way of life. (The "land where milk and honey flow" is a country of pastures, where the products of agriculture, flour and wine, are unknown.) It is unnecessary to enumerate the many famous works of "shepherd-poetry" from Theokritos to Guarini. Laziness has of course something to do with it, but the undercurrent of feeling is the enjoyment of the special grace of God ("Der stets den Schäfern gnaedig sich erwies" ⁶ Fr. Schiller) who provides for his children out of his loving kindness, being satisfied when they imitate the example of the lilies of the field which neither spin nor weave.

In a general way it may be said that the beauty of nature was built up by two factors: the pre-pleasure furnished by the promise of fecundity and plenty, and the reliance on the paternal kindness of the nourishing earth and a benevolent God which superseded all necessity for activity, or at least on the illusion of their boundless generosity.

This attitude is by no means extinct, but a very different one has been evolved in modern times and partly taken its place. As with most cultural changes this development was slow and obscure in its beginning. It was proclaimed openly when Jean Jacques Rousseau made himself its mouthpiece and it became dominating in the nineteenth century.

The root of this new development is the higher mastery of nature which started in the age of discoveries and inventions and swelled to a high tide in the machine age. The emphasis was

6. Who always showered his bounties on the shepherds.

now no longer on the expectation of nature's parental solicitude, but on a consistent, well planned and — in the wider sense of the word — scientific activity. This and only this was looked for to bring about the desired results; the ideal was now not any longer to leave as much as possible to nature's own free will, but to compel it to deliver the goods that had been hitherto accepted as voluntary gifts.

The stronger this insistence on the results of man's own practical and realistic attitude grew, the more restricted was the naive aesthetic pleasure in the nourishing aspects of nature. Where this insistence was most marked, that is where the highest mechanical equipment was used as, by example, in agriculture with the use of tractors and other machinery on a strict scientific basis, it disappeared entirely.

On the other hand, those parts of nature that had been considered as horrid and repellent, as the rocks and glaciers and the high sea, because they held out no promise of nourishing fertility, became invested with positive aesthetic value. This was natural enough when men did not look any longer on fertile nature as a kind provider, but as the realm of planned activity so that it lost eventually the basis of its aesthetic appeal. A barren rock became thus not less attractive than a ripening cornfield; it was even preferable in some respects. The field brought up associations of practical work, of hard and fast action which made it appear — especially in the romantic period of the nineteenth century — as "prosaic" i. e. as opposed to the promise on which the appreciation of nature's loveliness had been built. The bare rock provoked no expectations one way or the other.

Men had been taught beauty by fields and flowers, by hills and woods, by clear brooks and sunny lakes. They applied what they had learned to the new wide world and admired the formation and outline of cliffs and crags, the colors of the deep sea and the tints of the sunsets. They admired the harmony which existed in nature where no human hand had interfered and no human mind could hope for alms. But this newly discovered beauty was not only transferred from the older one which had been acquired slowly in the course of centuries, it contained something entirely new and different. This new reaction was even more intense, more deeply emotional than the older one had ever been under any circumstances. It was not only affectation of the Byronic age when men began

to cry at the sight of a beautiful scenery. Their minds were upset or soothed, the peace of their souls shattered or restored by the impacts of nature — a thing that had never happened before. Till then the line between mere pleasantness of natural surroundings and beauty had never been sharply drawn; it had been unnecessary since only the pleasant aspects of nature had been under consideration from the aesthetic point of view. The new beauty of nature had no relation whatever with pleasantness. The objects that now ranked as the highest perfection of beauty had lost nothing of their forbidding aspect, which was now not less noticeable than it had been before. To be awe-inspiring did not any longer make them repulsive, it became the chief element, the fundamental condition of their beauty.

The mutual relation and the contrast between the "old" and the "new" beauty are very similar to the differentiation which we saw between the small, diluted, pleasant beauty which is in demand everywhere and the high, pure, sad-making beauty which only few can stand. The present, special case is more instructive since the development and change from one form to the other falls here within the range of our observation.

Both ways of appreciating the beauty in nature have one important condition in common, namely the absence and superfluity of practical action; but starting from this common point they move along very different lines. The older form is based on nature's kindness, on her promises of free gifts of love; it comes to the same thing when "beauty in small doses" offers a gratuitous pre-pleasure without previous troubles or conflicts. The situation is intrinsically identical, consisting in the use of the rare chance to abandon the reality-principle since it has become unnecessary for a while by dealing with things that offer so much kindness and contain so little danger. The mind is left free for "the pursuit of happiness" for its own pleasure-seeking Id-activity, provided that it keeps within certain limits i. e. on the level of pre-pleasure. Otherwise the conflict with the frustrating reality or with the repression would start all over again and spoil everything.

In the second case — the modern appreciation of nature or, generally, the pure and high beauty, the promise and the kindness, the elements of the pre-pleasure mechanism are not entirely absent, but they are remote and indirect. Sublimation has worked with so

much zeal that these original sources are often hardly recognizable. They are just strong enough to take away the burdens of the reality-principle, but there is another deeper motive at work against turning that way: the reality-principle is in this setting not only superfluous, it is useless.

We know already what the aim of every work of art is: the representation — not the description — of a specific emotional situation in such a way that every detail, every single trait serves this purpose to the exclusion of all others. The "beautiful blue color" in this or that famous picture is so beautiful here and indifferent elsewhere because it expresses — or helps to express — in combination with the rest of the color-scheme exactly the same emotion as the smile on the face of the Madonna or as the manner in which her hands are lifted or her head bowed. Some of these details may look like negligible trifles, but all of them are of equal importance since the final effect is an undivisible entity. This faultless cooperation makes the picture a unique work of art, unlike all others, entirely different from all madonnas although thousands of pictures have treated the same subject in a similar way. A painting showing three apples in a porcelain bowl may come nearer to the expression of the same emotional content than one which presents the same theme, perhaps even using the same model, but in a setting of different values.

The secret of beauty in poetry is bound up with the same conditions. The plot or the ideas are neither more nor less responsible for the conveying of the emotional content than the construction of gradation and suspense or than rhythm, rhyme and the sequence of sounds; each of them works in its own way for the common purpose. This is also applicable to the beauty of nature when, in a contingency of place and time, of lines and colors and atmosphere, everything seems to be unified into expressing one, all-pervading mood. From all sides and in every way the same emotional appeal is coming forth. An Id-content that is otherwise inaccessible reveals itself in these moments with a clarity beyond words and intellectual conception. The separation between Ego and Id is, for the time being, offset by a mightier force, the rent within the personality is temporarily healed. In this sense all true art is "abstract" in so far that the presentation of the reality of objects and their relations is only a means to an end and is dispensed with whenever this

end can be attained better by any other way. A good example is Rubens' "landscape with the two shadows" — which are cast in opposite directions. The modern "abstract" art has recognized this principle, but spoilt it by carrying it out in an intellectual, programmatical and consequently too one-sided manner.

Whoever has known this experience of beauty in full becomes for a while, sometimes for ever, indifferent to reality and its canon of rules.

"Who has gazed with his eyes on beauty
Is to death delivered even now
Fit no more for any earthly duty."⁷

The intuition of the poet leads us back to the baffling antithesis which we have met more than once in the course of our disquisitions, telling us that beauty which is so much pursued and wooed should be akin to death, which every man shuns and tries to keep out of sight. With the help of this new hint we are able to resume the thread where we let it drop and repeat the question how an incomplete pleasure can be kept without conflict from its completion (final pleasure).

This time we start from the Super-Ego; we have till now — on purpose — postponed the full appreciation of the important part it plays for our problem.

It does not make the slightest difference that we deal here with ideas and phantasies, not with real action. We know that the Super-Ego reacts with the same severity to "Gedankensuenden" — sinning in thought — and, as the obsessional neurosis shows, even to unconscious impulses. The Ego is not protected by pleading its perfect innocence, the pangs of bad conscience (guilt-feeling) and anxiety visit it all the same. We have seen that those products of artistic creation which play with the fire of repressed wishes — the interesting, attractive and exciting sort — may eventually, instead of aiming at the abolition of anxiety, succeed, with the help of certain techniques to use it as a stimulating ingredient. Anyway, this is always a precarious rope-dancing and the pleasure leads occasionally towards unwelcome consequences.

7. Wer die Schoenheit angeschaut mit Augen,
Ist dem Tode schon anheimgegeben,
Wird fuer keinen Dienst der Erde taugen.
A. Platen.

For beauty — which in its purity is as different from tickling tensions and exciting topics as the "Queen Mab" from a mystery thriller — we claimed as an indispensable condition the absolute absence of anxiety. This signifies that the Super-Ego has laid aside its severity, or in other words that neither the conscious nor the unconscious contents provoke moral condemnation. The distance, marked by conscience, between the ideal which the Super-Ego demands and the actual Ego with all its vices and infirmities has disappeared and no objection is raised even to the Id and its drives. It is astonishing and puzzling how such a state of equilibrium can be attained by way of sublimation, since we know that a higher degree of sublimation inevitably brings in its wake a separation of the intermingled erotic and aggressive drives. (*Trieb-Entmischung*). The aggression, set free from the erotic component, gets directed against the Ego and heightens the severity of the Super-Ego.

As the main factors, paving the way towards the feeling of beauty, we have found: The origin from the "play"-attitude, the fullest psychic activity, unhampered by any concerns about reality and practical results, the fixation on the pre-pleasure level and the precise manifestation of an Id-content, being produced intrapsychically, but stimulated by sensual impressions. (This last statement applies to art as well as nature. It applies even to the creative artist whose senses are stimulated by the phantasy-image of his work — by his inspiration — before he starts to write his poem or paint his picture.) What part has the Super-Ego in each of these factors, now not any longer taken separately, but in their combination and interaction? The insistence that all that happens or possibly could happen is but play, make-belief, illusion; that it has no relation to reality and no intention ever to become reality, is apt to make the Super-Ego a bit more indulgent. This is certainly no more than a good starting point.

We come nearer to essentials if we add here the fact that a thing of beauty — or anything as far as it has beauty — represents and brings home a precise nuance of an emotional situation. In a quite unusual way, by the stimulating perception of the senses, the possession of an Id-content is conferred on the Ego. In psychoanalysis we learn by hard experience what a difficult and troublesome task the restitution of an Id-content is bound to be. Of course, the analytical technique deals with those contents that are kept

out of the Ego by the strongest force of resistance and repression. But even where these are minor factors, it is an exceptional boon to achieve such new possession of one's own self without any painful effort and moreover as the result of a psychic activity of the highest order. The effect of this activity is what we called before "the healing of the cleft." A split in the personality has, at least for the moment, maybe permanently, ceased to exist or, to express it in the positive way, the personality has been made more coherent and continuous. This is a narcissistic triumph not only for the Ego, but also for the Super-Ego, which cherishes the narcissistic ideal of a complete, fully organized and freely functioning personality. The Super-Ego, sharing the triumphant feeling, participates also in the activity which leads towards it.

This anomalous behaviour of the Super-Ego brings about an exceptional situation. Usually the best that can be hoped for is a relaxation of its severity, the absence of its condemnation ("I don't mind what you do, as long as it is mere playing.") In our case the Super-Ego is not only permitting the play, but actually taking part in it — like a kind mother who sits down on the floor to help baby put together those blocks — and, like a really kind mother, enjoying it.

It looks like a hypothesis made *ad hoc*, but luckily this situation although it is exceptional, is not unique and we can compare and illustrate it with similar ones. In the case of saintliness and of religious ecstasy we have a close analogy to our case. The intensity of the emotional reaction, the bliss beyond the boundaries of ordinary feeling that characterizes them is the result of a close alliance and cooperation between the Ego and the Super-Ego. The difference lies in the causation; the split in the personality is removed, but this is not effected by the presentation and possession of an Id-content, but by the annihilation or attenuation of all Id-drives, down to the most innocent and permissible ones. This absorption of the Id and the consequent elation may be passing or become a permanent state of mind. Other possibilities may exist for such a turn-about in the attitude of the Super-Ego. Freud was the first to investigate and demonstrate one of them in his study of the psychic conditions for the phenomenon of humour.

If the mother shares the play-activity of the child, the playing will become more delightful, no doubt, but it will not be exactly

the same sort of play as that which the child would enjoy if left to its own devices. Or, to speak without a metaphor, when the Super-Ego, incited by the satisfaction of its narcissism, not only sanctions the activity and the pleasure of the Ego, but even joins in them, it continues all the same to react according to its fundamental tendencies. The stern law that sublimation brings about the separation of the intermingled erotic and aggressive drives (*Trieb-Entmischung*) cannot be abolished.

The aggressive drive, according to Freud's latest theory, is originally a part of the death-instinct, which urges each organic substance towards the shortest way of returning to the inorganic state and would bring about instantaneous extinction if it were not counterbalanced by the eros. In order to get rid of the self-destructive tendencies they are — with the help and under the guidance of the libido — turned against the outside world; they are changed into aggression. By sublimation the erotic and aggressive drives become separated, the libido disappears and the aggression turns back against the Ego in the form of the greater severity of the Super-Ego.

As we have seen before, the conditions for the creation of the feeling of beauty have this in common that they tend to keep clear of anything that could arouse the severity of the Super-Ego and provoke anxiety or guilt-feeling. We know that they go beyond these merely negative, protective measures. By bribing the Super-Ego with the narcissistic satisfaction which they offer to it they ensure its active participation. This cooperation makes every destructive, critical attitude of the Super-Ego against the Ego impossible and prepares the basis on which beauty is built.

Under these peculiar circumstances the death-instinct can not be converted into aggression since an aggression which has no object, neither outside nor — as the guilty Ego — inside the personality, is plainly nothing else but a self-contradiction. The death-instinct therefore cut off from any outlet by way of permutation or modification continues in its original form or returns to it.

The influence of the death-instinct can be traced whenever beauty blossoms, but in highly different degrees of intensity. With small manifestations of beauty, as we called them, with beauty in diluted form, it is no more than a stabilizing element. The benevolent activity of the Super-Ego slightly infuses into the play of

Ego and Id-tendencies something of the character of the death-instinct. The fore-pleasure stage is retained indefinitely, the urge to go further, to the final pleasure, is set aside. When the influence of the stabilizing element, provided by the death-instinct, is too weak or, expressing it the other way round, if the immediate demands of the Id have taken too prominent a part in the creation of the work or in the reactions of the beholder, reader or listener (mostly it will happen on both sides) then beauty is bound to give way either to an actual gratification or to the bitter feeling of frustration. (E. g. a picture is too openly erotic and leads either to sex-phantasies, or to the struggle against the stimulated desires.) Nothing of that sort can happen when the death-instinct — in this attenuated form — functions fully. The result is a feeling of restfulness and bliss, of having found, at last momentarily, a haven of peace where the eternal necessity to choose between sensual gratification and peace of mind is abolished.⁸ This is the reason why some little bit of beauty is such an indispensable help for carrying the burden of life.

We see that life and death, both have to be present for the creation even of the slightest, most superficial bit of beauty. When we turn to the great, the pure beauty, we find them united by the strictest interdependence. Pure beauty holds life and death, not as toys serving for a moment's relaxation, but flaring up to their highest intensity. Life offers all of its strongest emotions, without alloy of trifles or trivialities. They appear with a clarity which defies words, but preserves undiminished all of their original force. The creative activity of the mind, in reacting to beauty, in producing beauty, represents the highest form of psychic life, in which all its parts — the Id, the Ego and the Super-Ego are coordinated. Death brings with it the striving after permanence, stability, immobility. The presence of death makes itself felt in the sadness of beauty which in its fulness is more than ordinary mortals are able to face in their everyday lives.

When the one of the two antagonists dominates the scene, the other one in the background has not lost his power. Beauty is a quest which leads to motion as well as to immobility. Beauty is life dancing — but dancing to the tune of death.

8. Zwischen Sinnenglück und Seelenfrieden
Bleibt dem Menschen nur die bange Wahl.

Fr. Schiller.

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